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THE SPEECH  
OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
THE DUKE OF SUSSEX,  
IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS;  
ON THE CATHOLIC QUESTION,  
ON TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1812.  
WITH PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

[We notice this admirable piece of argumentative eloquence with the sincerest pleasure. It does more honour to the House of Brunswick than all its titles, rank, or power, and it proves that the family is not devoid of talents, however stupid and besotted may have been some of its branches. The superior talents of the Duke of Sussex have long been known in the higher circles, and this speech will render them familiar to all ranks. The regret will be general that such great views should not be actively engaged in the public service, and that the intelligence of this illustrious personage has not the weight that is due to it in the councils of his brother. For our parts we have long directed our hopes towards his Royal Highness, and have anxiously desired to witness the influence of his transcendent abilities and liberal policy in rescuing his country from the abyss into which it has been plunged by vice, folly, and incapacity.]

RIGHT OF PETITIONING.

EVERY good subject must respect the laws of his country.

It is not enough to begin by submitting to them, but it is our duty also to maintain them as long as they exist.

This obedience, which must be religiously observed, does not prevent us, however, from investigating the inconveniences of laws, which, at the time they were framed, might have been political, prudent, nay even necessary, but now, from a total change of circumstances and events, may have become unjust, oppressive, and equally useless.

If, on inquiry, the subject finds himself aggrieved, his next step should be to petition the sovereign, or both Houses of Parliament, for redress.

This is one of the greatest privileges of  
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our glorious Constitution, upon which too much stress cannot be laid, as it tends not only to secure the liberty of the subject, but likewise to ensure the tranquillity of the state. 1 *William and Mary, Stat.* 2, c. 2.

Such memorials ought always to be drawn up, and presented with all humility and respect; when it becomes the duty of the Legislature to receive them in that conciliatory and gracious manner, and to pay them that due and serious attention, as will convince the petitioners of the justice and relief they may reasonably expect from the inclination which the Sovereign and Parliament cannot but at all times feel to benefit the loyal and faithful subjects of these realms.

CAUSES OF PERSECUTION.

Let us examine the real source, the *primum mobile*, of those bloody tales, which have dyed the page of history with indelible and eternal disgrace.

If the historian be impartial and correct, in man alone we shall find the whole to originate, who has at all times evinced himself to be an animal of blood; and the policy of states has seldom scrupled to associate, at least the name of religion, in the perpetration of its enormities.

There is no doubt, but that state policy, and the wicked love of power, was, and ever will be, the first cause of those dissensions; and, therefore, to man alone must we look for their remedy.

SACRIFICES OF PATRIOTISM.

I am well aware, my lords, that the man who ventures to speak the truth to contending interests, must expect the resentment of the fanatics on both sides; those men who, losing sight of all religion, transfer the name to the secondary objects of their idolatrous doctrines, and veil their polluted politics with the sacred mantle of Christianity.

To their resentment I know I am exposed, but the man who feels the *amor patriæ*, who disinterestedly and sincerely has the prosperity, glory, and welfare, of the

the nation at heart, should brave the danger, if he thinks he can be of any use; and, arming himself with the courage of a Curtius, plunge into the gulf, should his country and his duty require it of him.

Inspired with these sentiments; fully acquainted with the political causes which placed that branch of the family to whom I have the honor to belong on the throne of these united kingdoms, and professing the religion of the country as by law established, with which I am satisfied, considering it the most perfect, as long as I believe, and I am convinced that it is the most charitable, I think myself called upon to explain to your lordships the motives and considerations which determine my vote upon this great question.

*Homo sum; humani nihil a me alienum puto.*

I pretend to nothing else; nor wish but to recommend the moderation and gentleness which belong to Christian hearts, instead of the rage which portrays the nature of tigers.

#### TRUE POLICY.

In tolerating all religions, government becomes acquainted with their tenets, and of course knows the limits, as well as the extent, of the pledges requisite for the tranquillity of the state, besides what holds it has, or can have, upon them.

The wisest and soundest policy would leave all religions quietly to themselves, so long as they neither attack morality nor subvert the public quiet, either by their ambition or intolerance; their variety would not fail to produce a rivalry, useful as a balance in the scale of power, and as an emulation to virtue. The state has no right to exercise its authority over the private opinions of any individual; but merely to notice those acts which may endanger and disturb the regularity and good order of its civilized community.

Man is amenable for his thoughts to no one except his Redeemer, who alone has the knowledge, power, and right, to judge them.

A limited state may wisely adopt sumptuary laws; and, in that case, very prudently admit but of one religion; however this would be a very narrow and weak policy in a great empire like ours, where the extent of our possessions calls upon us to govern a variety of nations, amongst whom there must natu-

rally exist a diversity of opinions, and an industry which extends to an infinity of objects.

Thus situated, an enlightened, wise, and liberal government, should protect all religions, of whatever sects or casts, without any partial distinction; when jealousy, complaint of tyranny and oppression, and the loss of hope and confidence in the legislature (which must inevitably arise when they have been treated unequally and unfairly for a great length of time) would cease and give way to an union of interests.

By such means alone can an immense state or empire exist, and be maintained, when every new acquisition and conquest will prove advantageous and beneficial.

It was upon these principles that the Greeks and Romans conquered the greatest part of the known world; when they were every where acknowledged and considered benefactors and protectors, instead of conquerors and tyrants.

The same plan, our chief antagonist, who narrowly watches, and strictly adheres to, the examples and instructive lessons of the ancients, has craftily pursued; and such is the balm, and even charm, of religious toleration, that it has caused his iron-yoke to be borne with less clamour; and that the French nation, lulled asleep by the consolation of a promiscuous and free exercise of their religious tenets, have lost sight of the inquisitor's fagot, and unguardedly, before they were aware of the danger, submitted to his temporal inquisitions and tortures.

Should we not then take lessons of wisdom from our adversaries, and guard against such a dangerous weapon, wielded by the able hands of so wary a foe? By adopting a similar system of perfect toleration, which harmonises so well with our constitution, and is so congenial with our ideas of liberty, we might produce incalculable advantages;—we should gain over fresh votaries to our cause, and lead the nation on to still greater victories and triumphs, by ensuring the united efforts and good wishes of many additional millions of grateful and loyal subjects.

Had we acted upon these salutary, generous, and luminous principles, such scenes as took place in the East Indies a few years ago would not have existed to be recorded by the historian to our disgrace as a nation, and as statesmen, whilst for a time they must have seriously injured



injured us, in our interests and good name with the natives.

By toleration, in short, is meant conformity, safety, and protection, granted by the state to every sect, that does not maintain doctrines inconsistent with the public peace, the rights of the sovereign, and the safety of our neighbour.

In proportion as civilization encreases in the world, diversity of opinions must naturally multiply; and on no subject, so much as on that of religion, in which meditation has so great a share, in relation to the present security and future happiness of every individual.—As the mind of man improves, and expands by discoveries and communications with his fellow-creatures, he is enabled to reason with greater advantage to himself, by comparison and reflection; and in no instance do the mental faculties shew their rapid strides so quickly, or under such a variety of forms, as in matters of religion.

#### PAPAL TEMPORAL POWER.

Many of the popes not only disclaimed temporal power over kings, but acknowledged themselves their subjects.

In a letter addressed by Pope Gregory, to the Emperor Mauritius, who insisted on the publication of a law, he expresses himself to that very effect:

“I, being subject to your command, have caused the law to be sent into several parts; and, because the law agrees not with God omnipotent, I have by letter informed my serene lord; wherefore, I have in both done what I ought; obeyed the Emperor, and not concealed what I thought for God.”

Pope Eugenius received a caution from St. Bernard, admonishing him not to interfere in temporal matters, in the following terms:

“Earthly kingdoms have their judges, —princes and kings; why do you thrust your sickle into another man’s harvest? St. Peter could not give what he had not. Did he give dominion? It is said in the gospel, the kingdom of the Gentiles has dominion over them; but you not so: it is plain, dominion is forbidden to Apostles; go now, and there unite either dominion with the apostleship, or the apostles’ dominion: you are plainly forbidden the one; if you will have both, you will lose both; you will be of the number of those of whom God complains: ‘they have been princes, and I know them not.’”

Tertullian, a stranger to fear or flattery, has left an abridgment of the prayer

offered up by Christian subjects for their Pagan rulers: “We pray for the emperors, and that God may grant them a long life and quiet reign; that their family may be safe, and their forces valiant: their senate wise; their people orderly and virtuous; that they may rule in peace, and enjoy all the blessings they can desire, either as men or princes;—*et omnia quæ tendunt ad Caesaris votum.*”

The popes themselves were used to take oaths of fidelity, as appears from a letter of Charlemagne to Leo the Third, A.D. 796.

Many learned writers of the church, amongst whom are numbered several popes, call the king, God’s vicar on earth, forbid the priest to usurp the royal dignity; and confine the power of the church to the dispensation of the divine, and that of the prince to the administration of temporal.

The Council of Constance in 1415, the Jesuits assembled at Ghent in 1681, and the clergy in France in 1682, declared that kings and princes, by God’s ordinance, are not subject in temporals to any ecclesiastical powers: and that they cannot be deprived directly, or indirectly, by the authority of the keys of the church: neither can their subjects be freed from fealty and obedience.

In canon law it stands, that kings acknowledge no superiors in temporals, and that appeals, concerning temporals, should not be brought to the pope’s tribunal.

Philip, the Fourth of France, in a dispute with Pope Boniface the Eighth, in 1303, addresses him in the following words: “We should have your Madness to know, that we acknowledge no superior in temporals but God alone.”

Charles the Sixth, of France, who reprobated as much as the church, and particularly the University of Paris, the Milesium doctrines preached by Pope John, the Twenty-second, ordered him to retract them in the following words:

“Retracte ou je te ferai ardre.”

This same pontiff was afterwards excommunicated for having maintained those tenets; which, of itself, would put an end to all questions of supremacy and infallibility.

This happened in 1334.

Alfonso the Fifth, of Portugal, after his conquest over the infidels in Africa, conceiving the ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be vested in him, delegated a part of it to the Order of Christ; granting them the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all their

their possessions beyond the seas; and which is in force at the present time.

Francis, the First of France, when he reduced the Duchy of Milan, in 1520, appointed the bishop of Tarbes to exercise, sovereignly, all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in that country, without the intervention or authority of the Pope.

The Emperor, Charles the Fifth, when Clement the Seventh had made a league with Francis the First, abolished the papal authority all over Spain.

Already, in the reign of William the Conqueror,—that illustrious warrior and sovereign, acceded to pay the peter-pence, which was levied in this country; but he positively refused, by letter to Pope Gregory the Seventh, his legate Hubertus's pretensions to swear allegiance to the Pontiff.

His sons, William Rufus and Henry the First, continued in the same sentiments.

The preservation of the Magna Charta, the first great bulwark of every Englishman's liberties, is solely to be attributed to the firmness of Cardinal Langton, who, supported by the barons, refused to publish the excommunication, which was issued by the Pope against those who should press King John to maintain his treaty with them. From those the sovereign had sought to get himself released; and, to that end, had personally applied to the court of Rome: having, at the beginning of his reign, freely resigned, to Innocent the Third, his crown and independence; and of course placed himself under the papal protection.

The reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second, equally manifest the same disposition to resist the encroachments of the pontiffs, which was also followed by Henry the Eighth.

It is right, though, to remark here, that personal motives had an additional sway, in creating the separation between the monarch and the holy see; for in enacting those very laws, it was positively decreed, that nothing as to the faith was to be altered.

Queen Mary, who repealed Henry's statutes, prudently put this safeguard:—that the Pope's bulls and briefs were merely to be confined to spirituals, without interfering either with the independence of the kingdom, or the independence of her subjects.

Queen Elizabeth, her successor, who cancelled the Acts of Philip and Mary, and re-established the supremacy over the church of England, was as much, if

not more, actuated than her father, by motives of personal security, and the maintenance of her crown; to which her attention had been particularly called by Clement the Seventh's refusal to acknowledge King Henry the Eighth's divorce from Catharine of Arragon, prior to his marriage with her mother, and by an Act the parliament had passed, declaring her illegitimate, although afterwards revoked.

Still the Catholics, after Elizabeth had declared herself Protestant Queen, and Governess of the Church, joined their sovereign in resisting the forces which Sixtus the Fifth had influenced Catholic princes to employ against her; so much so, that the Spanish admiral observed, that on landing, he would make no distinction between a Catholic and a Protestant, save what the point of a sword would have made between their flesh.

#### FAITH WITH HERETICS.

The only other serious political objection, which has ever been violently urged against the Catholics, is the supposition of their not considering themselves obliged to keep faith with heretics.

Their own especial refutation given to this charge, in the most positive terms, by the oath of allegiance, which they take, is a sufficient contradiction to a stigma that has been thrown upon their character in times of religious controversies, when both parties seemed emulous which of the two should blacken the other the most.

However, some opinions of Catholic divines and jurists, as to this very point, will add, if necessary, additional weight to their assertions.

Justinian declares, that he acts contrary to the law,—who, confining himself to the letter, acts contrary to the spirit and interest of it; and whosoever, to excuse himself, endeavours fraudulently to illude the true sense of a law, by a rigorous attachment to the word of it, shall not escape its penalties by such prevarications.

S. Isidorus, *apud* Gratianum, states, whoever swears, must do it according to the intention of him to whom he swears, let the mode and form of the expression be what it will.

In the general council of Constance, even where the conduct of that assembly towards Huss is cited by Protestants, in proof of the accusation, urged against Catholics, for breach of faith to Heretics, —Pope Martin the Fifth declared, that



it is not lawful for a man to perjure himself on any account, even for the faith; it further adds, "let the persons suspected be asked, whether he, or she, does not think that all wilful perjury, committed upon any occasion whatsoever, for the preservation of one's life, or another man's, or even for the sake of faith, is a mortal sin."

If any additional contradiction were requisite, the behaviour of the illustrious Empress, Maria Theresa, towards her Protestant subjects in Hungary, must satisfy the most caviling disposition, as to the sincerity and strictness with which a Catholic princess fulfilled her promises, made to a body of men, commonly called Heretics, in the hour of distress.

That magnanimous heroine, surrounded on all sides by numerous and powerful foes, ready to invade her dominions, and to make her captive,—armed the softer and more delicate feelings of her sex with a manly and martial firmness. She took in her arms her infant son, and, shewing him to her subjects of every description, "Behold your Prince," says she, "unable to guard you, defend his rights; and when he shall be able to sway the sceptre, the grateful remembrance of your services shall procure you his favor, love, and protection."

Her Protestant subjects of Hungary flocked to her banners, and, as a reward of their loyalty, she repealed the restrictive laws which former sovereigns had enacted; she made it high treason to molest them in the exercise of their religion; this toleration, Maria Theresa began in her hereditary kingdoms, and Joseph the Second completed the emancipation all over his dominions, by restoring his Christian subjects, of every denomination, to the freedom and rights of citizens.

#### ACTUAL DISABILITIES.

Now to deprive a man of the power and liberty of acquiring a fortune, or existence by honest means, is robbing him of the rights of nature, more valuable even than life itself; and, therefore, to him who suffers, whether it be by the hand of justice, or by the hand of oppression, it is equally the same, and neither gilds the pill, nor sweetens the bitterness of the draught.

Our constitution is not made for great, general, and proscriptive exclusions: sooner or later it will and must destroy them; or they will destroy the constitution. *Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rarasenectus.*

In the Magna Charta, it is provided, that no man shall be disseized of his liberties and free customs, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land; meaning clearly for some proved crime, tried and adjudged.

Neither Heaven nor man has granted a power to punish any one but malefactors, and no one is less open to such an accusation, than he who follows the dictates of his conscience.

To him it is the oracle of the Divinity; in abiding by its prescription, he imagines to please his Creator; mistaken, perhaps, he may be, but a mistake is not a crime.

The magistrate who punishes an honest peaceable man, for following the religion of his education, and the dictates of his conscience; and the legislators who authorize him to do so, both forget themselves, and the rights of mankind.

We are men, and must live among men, and must make and claim merciful allowances for the errors of fallible and peaceable beings, and for that renitency of our nature against coercion, which, if well disciplined, and well directed, is in fact the origin of all liberty.

Magna Charta regards the civil rights and liberties of the subject, as much a fundamental part of the constitution, as the establishment of the church of England was thought; either in the Act of King William or Queen Anne.

It was not a fundamental part of the Act of Settlement, at the Revolution, that the state should be Protestant without any qualification.

In no other country in the world, is the religion so peculiarly defined as in this; for, till within these few years, a signature of thirty-seven, out of thirty-nine articles, was absolutely necessary for the toleration of any other protestant sect.

Now the power that could remove the tests from dissenting Protestants, was not authorized to exercise it more for the one sect, than for the other; and, therefore, the Catholics ought to have been equally included in this relief; for the legislature did not, beyond a doubt, mean to guard the church in one part only, and to leave her defenceless and exposed in every other.

There is no disability that affects any other class of Dissenters, which affects not equally the Roman Catholics, whilst there are several disabilities to which the latter are liable, but do not in any respect affect the former.

## HIS OWN OBSERVATIONS.

Whenever I knew of an English, Scotch, or Irish seminary, existing on any part of the continent I happened to pass through, I made it a point constantly to visit them; when the most unfeigned marks of devotion and attachment to my family, and to their countrymen, were, at all times, most unequivocally evinced.

In many I have observed, and particularly at Rome, the pictures of their Majesties exhibited in their public halls, as an incontrovertible testimony of their loyalty and allegiance.

## HIS OWN HEALTH.

These sentiments are the consequence of diligent, constant, and serious inquiry, and have been greatly influenced by deep and religious meditation.

Since the last time I ventured to intrude myself upon the attention of this house, domestic calamities and serious indisposition have almost constantly visited me;—it is in such moments as those, my lords, when it appeared a few instants would separate me for ever from this mortal life, and the hopes of a better consoled me in the hour of anguish and sorrow,—that all prejudices cease, and that man views human events, unbiassed by prepossession, in their true light, inspired with Christian charity, and calmed by a confident resignation on the mercy of the Omnipotent: at these times, when one may be almost said to stand face to face with one's Creator, I have frequently asked myself, what preference I could urge in my favor, to my Redeemer, over my fellow-creatures, in whose sight all well-intentioned and well-inclined men have an equal claim to his mercy? The answer of my conscience always was: follow the directions of your Divine Master; love one another, and do not unto others what you would not have them do unto you: and upon this doctrine I am acting.

The present life cannot be the boundary of our destination; it is but the first stage, the infancy, of our existence: it is a minority, during which we are to prepare for more noble occupations; and the more faithfully we discharge our duties here below, the more exalted will be the degree of protection and felicity we may hope to attain hereafter.

## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Lost, indeed, must that church be, whose only existence could depend upon

depriving any body of men, from a faithful and firm adherence to their own conscientious and religious opinions, of their liberties and free customs; and reduce them to a state of civil servitude.

Should the safety of the church be utterly inconsistent with all the civil rights of the far larger part of the inhabitants of a country, that church would be, not only in the most deplorable state, but likewise in the most imminent danger.

## THE CORONATION OATH.

I have, for particular reasons, studiously avoided touching upon the Coronation Oath, not from want of having formed my opinion upon that subject; but from motives of personal respect and delicacy.

But one remark I cannot refrain from making; and, if I am out of order, I beg the learned lord to signify it to me, when I shall instantly desist.

Much has been said relative to the repugnance shown to the measure in a certain quarter.

Should this repugnance have proceeded from considerations of religious and prudential motives warring together, may not the indisposition which most deeply affects us all, and none more particularly than myself, have been occasioned by them?

By removing these obstacles, might we not pave the way and open a gleam for a perfect recovery?

This is a mystery which can only be known by the Great Disposer of all human events, who alone has a right and a power to take away that life which he has given us; and therefore to his will we must patiently submit, but with pious resignation hope for the best.

I could not, however, have brought my mind to have concluded, without mentioning this consideration.

\* \* \* The notes indicate extensive reading and profound erudition.

## BIONOMIA.

## OPINIONS

*Concerning LIFE and HEALTH,*INTRODUCTORY TO  
A COURSE OF LECTURES,

On the Physiology of

## SENTIENT BEINGS.

By A. P. BUCHAN, M.D.

Of the Royal College of Physicians, London.

[Dr. A. P. Buchan, son of the late eminent author of *Domestic Medicine*, has been already



ready distinguished by some medical works, displaying acuteness of observation and perspicacity of reasoning. His present performance is avowedly an introduction to a course of lectures, and it applies some original and clear views of Nature to solve difficulties in the animal economy. Such a work is not well adapted to purposes of extract, the passages following are likely however to gratify by their good sense and perspicuity of expression.]

#### SENSATION.

**S**ENSATION and motion enter into our most simple notions of animal life. But the existence of these faculties always implies organic structure. That modification of animal matter, in which sensation appears peculiarly to reside, is termed nervous. The more simple species of zoophytes, as the polypi, may be considered as consisting totally of nerve. Without disparity of parts, the living principle seems equally diffused throughout the whole of their simple structure; so that, when subdivided, each separate portion, closing on itself, soon becomes fit to perform all the functions of a complete animal. The pain instantly perceived from irritation, even by the finest point applied to the surface of the body, affords sufficient proof that a homogeneous sentient substance is diffused over every part of the largest and most complicated animal.

#### NEW SECRETIONS.

According to a law of nature, every animated being requires perpetual reparation, by fresh supplies of matter, which are retained in temporary union, by the plastic power of life. It is the presence of the principle of animation which imparts individuality. The component parts of all living bodies are in a state of perpetual secretion. For the purpose of containing a proper quantity of the materials, whence this accretion of new matter is derived, all animals are provided with an internal cavity, termed the stomach; an organ subordinate to the faculty of loco-motion. By this peculiarity of structure, the animal is distinguished from the vegetable kingdom. Plants are immovably attached to the ground from which they derive their nutriment, by means of their roots.\*

#### RESPIRATION.

Another condition, essential to the existence of animal life, is a communica-

tion with the atmospherical air. In the earliest rudiments of animal existence, some contrivance for maintaining an intercourse with the external air may be detected. It was at a very early period observed, that somewhat necessary to vitality was derived from the air, which the ancients termed the *pabulum vite*. The demand for fresh supplies of air varies much in the different periods of existence of the same animal, and still more in the various classes of animated beings; but a full and free respiration of pure air is absolutely necessary to support the health and vigour of the more complex and perfect animals.

#### ANIMAL ECONOMY.

Respiration, accretion or digestion, and secretion, complete the circle of the animal economy; and, as these functions appear to be essentially necessary to the existence of the sentient principle of life, they are denominated the vital functions. The influence of the living principle is again absolutely requisite to maintain their agencies; for, if the communication of the nervous power with any organ of the living body be intercepted, by compressing or dividing the nerve through which it passes, that organ will soon cease to perform its proper office.

#### USE OF THE SENSES.

By sensation, animated beings are connected with external nature. Resistance, perceived by means of the touch, which may be termed the universal sense, informs us, that something exists besides ourselves. By the organs of the different senses we become acquainted with other properties of matter, through the intervention of certain media. To excite the perception of taste or smell, there must previously be a solution in water, or in air. Sound is transmitted by the vibrations of air; and sight is produced by the impression of the rays of light upon the eye.

#### PHENOMENA OF LIFE.

The operations of physical causes are, in a variety of instances, suspended or controlled by the principle of life, which, to a certain extent, seems to exempt the organic forms with which it is connected, from the influence of chemical or mechanical agency. Vegetables spring upwards from the ground in direct opposition to the tendency of gravitation. A living creature is not sensible of its own weight. And man, the chief of animals, touches the earth with little more

\* See our Magazine for September 1811, page 117, Art. XVI. See also Blair's Universal Preceptor, article Animated Nature, paragraph 453, 454, and 455.

more than the termination of his inferior extremities.

The operation of chemical agents is, in like manner, modified by the presence of the principle of vitality. A living animal can maintain its proper temperature, and resist the impressions of both heat and cold, to a very considerable extent; and the action of a chemical solvent is also resisted by the powers of life. Certain extremes of heat or of cold are, indeed, inconsistent with animal existence, and an active caustic occasions the death of the part to which it is applied.

#### MIRACLE OF MAN.

The exquisite contrivance displayed in the formation of the animal body, and the energies of the internal vivifying principle, particularly as evinced in the economy of the human automaton, the power it possesses of retaining in harmonious union the discordant principles entering into the composition of the body, and of resisting the tendency to putrefactive fermentation in circumstances highly favourable to the commencement of that process,—in compensating various irregularities of action,—repelling different external impressions of a deleterious kind,—and expelling from within matters of a noxious nature,—in rectifying the derangements occasioned by disease,—in the healing of wounds,—the re-union, and strengthening of fractured bones,—the faculties of self-motion, self-repair, and reproduction, are operations so truly wonderful, that it is not surprising to find their more early observers inclined to refer them to the immediate interference of supernatural agency.

#### PLAN OF STUDYING MEDICINE.

Were the fundamental principles of that general plan of organization, which, variously modified, seems to pervade the whole of the animal kingdom of nature, pointed out, the particular class of phenomena connected with the presence of the vital principle rendered more familiar to the mind, the influence of external impressions requisite for the support of life, and the astonishing compensatory powers of the constitution better understood, analogy authorises us to conclude that the extent of the control assumed by man over the functions of the animal economy, in the state of health and of disease, would be more correctly appreciated. Pretensions to work miraculous cures by concealed and apparently inadequate instruments would be exploded.

A just confidence in the healing energies of nature, under the guidance of science instructed by experience, would take place of the present prevalent belief in the potency of drugs; and the art of preserving health, and of treating disease, would truly deserve to be considered as a department of liberal science.

It is only by noting the phenomena exhibited by animated beings, and comparing them with each other, that we can expect to obtain any just knowledge of the laws of life. But, from the steady contemplation of this subject, the attention, even of those devoted to the profession of medicine, has always been in some degree diverted by the fashionable studies of the time. The success attending the application of the principles of mechanical philosophy by Newton, to determine the laws of the planetary motions, led many persons to suppose that all the appearances of nature, and among them the animal functions, might be explained by the same means. The disciples of the Newtonian philosophy favoured the public with laborious calculations of the triturating powers of the human stomach, a membranous bag; and the process of digestion was supposed to be illustrated by the analogous operation of a pair of mill-stones in grinding corn. Then, there were mechanical theories of fever; muscular motion was supposed to be better understood by calling the bones levers, and the tendons cords; and the action of the heart, in circulating the blood, was likened to that of a forcing pump.

#### VALUE OF MEDICAL KNOWLEDGE.

If any farther apology be requisite for attempting to draw the attention of some portion of mankind, in this age of general inquiry, to objects of such acknowledged importance as life, health, and the means of preserving it, I may cite the example of that great and wise man who has already been so often quoted, because I consider his authority as paramount in all matters pertaining to natural philosophy, of which, in this country, he is justly deemed the father. In the preface to his history of Life and Death, which is, in fact, a treatise on the preservation of health, Lord Bacon states that, 'although this was originally the last in order of six monthly designations, which he intended to publish, he thought it good to change his plan, and to give it the second place; because even the smallest loss of time is precious in a matter



a matter of such great utility, and which he hopes and trusts may redound to the good of many.' Nor is it in my power to convey a notion of the general nature and import of the matters intended to be treated of in these lectures more clearly than in the very words of the same eminent philosopher. In the second book of the Advancement of Learning, he observes:—'The knowledge that concerneth man's body is divided as the good of man's body is divided, unto which it referreth. The good of man's body is of four kinds; health, beauty, strength, and pleasure: so the knowledges are, medicine or art of cure; art of decoration, which is called cosmetic; art of activity, which is called athletic; and art of voluptuary, which Tacitus truly calleth *Eruditus luxus*. It is evidently true, that, of all substances which nature hath produced, man's body is the most extremely compounded. For we see herbs and plants are nourished by earth and water; beasts for the most part by herbs and fruits; man by the flesh of beasts, birds, fishes, herbs, grains, fruits, water, and the manifold alterations, dressings, and preparations of these several bodies, before they come to be his food and aliment. Add hereunto that beasts have a more simple order of life, and less change of affections to work upon their bodies; whereas man, in his mansion, sleep, exercise, passions, hath infinite variations; and it cannot be denied but that the body of man is of all other things the most compounded mass. The soul, on the other side, is the simplest of substances, as is well expressed.

'Purumque reliquit

*Æthereum sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem.*

This variable composition of man's body, hath made it an instrument easy to distemper; and, therefore, the poets did well to conjoin music and medicine in Apollo, because the office of medicine is but to tune this curious harp of man's body, and to reduce it to harmony.' Considering the state of natural knowledge, at the period when Lord Bacon's History of Life and Death was written, it will be found to contain a prodigious accumulation of important facts, mingled, unquestionably, with some false reasoning. The limits of the different kingdoms of nature not having at that time been clearly ascertained, unfounded conclusions are occasionally deduced from the affections of inert matter, and misapplied to the state and condition of

animated beings.—May I be permitted to indulge a hope that the present attempt to bring some of the rays of that light which has been diffused by the more recent improvements in natural philosophy, to bear upon the subject of sentient existence, will be considered, as in some measure conducing to fulfil one purpose of this great man; not only by teaching how to maintain the harmonious play of this living harp, but also to promote the usefulness and respectability of a science,—which that its professors should do, the nobleness of their art doth deserve, well shadowed by the poets, in that they made Æsculapius the son of the Sun, the one being the fountain of light, and the other the second stream; but infinitely more honoured by the example of our Saviour, who made the body of man the object of his miracles, as the soul was the object of his doctrine.'

#### SYMPATHETIC POWDER.

To the effects of the Sympathetic Powder, blazoned by Sir Kenelm Digby, unquestionably among the first philosophers of his time, surgeons are, in my opinion, indebted for one of the chief improvements of their art, healing wounds, by what is technically termed the first intention. The powder was applied to the weapon, by which the wound had been inflicted, covered with salve, and regularly dressed two or three times a-day. The wound, meantime, was directed to be brought together, and carefully bound up with clean linen rags, and let alone for seven days. At the end of that period the bandages were removed, and, to the glory of Sir Kenelm, and the astonishment of the Surgeons and by-standers, the wound was in a great majority of instances found perfectly united; and the cure was, with due solemnity, attributed to the powder and plasters which had, *secundum artem*, been daily applied to the innocent sword or dagger.

#### USE OF SPIRITS AND FERMENTED LIQUORS.

The discovery and habitual use of agreeable and exhilarating liquors has tended more than any other invention of man to impair his primeval state of health. Against the ultimately deleterious effects of distilled spirits, there seems to be no provision made in the human frame, except indeed the innate dislike to their taste, which, however,

the pleasing effects of inebriation soon obliterated. The habitual use of spirits blunts the moral sense, causes ferocity and cruelty of manners, and augments crimes, by destroying reflection, manifestly changes the expression of the countenance, and even alters the tone of the voice. The quantity of land devoted to the production of the grain from which spirits are manufactured, forms an insuperable barrier to the increase of population, as the habitual use of them does to the duration of individual life.

A comparatively small quantity of spirit forced into the stomach of a dog, a cat, or a hedge-hog, is productive of speedy death; and a larger quantity is followed by the same effect in man. A quart of brandy, received into the human stomach at once, causes almost instant death, by destroying the life of that important organ. But the pre-eminence of the structure of the human frame is, in no respect, more signal than in resisting the effects of fermented and distilled liquors.

I have remarked several instances of dogs acquiring the habit of drinking ale, and other strong liquors: in a very few months their faculties were impaired, they became bloated, were affected by mucous discharges from the eyes, and died of universal dropsy. The human constitution will bear, not indeed with impunity, the habitual use of the products of fermentation for a series of years.

A large proportion of the diseases of mankind are derived from what they drink, and more than are at present suspected, in my opinion, from water itself. The *scelera aquarum* demand more attention than has been hitherto bestowed upon them. The ancients, aware of the importance of pure water to health, paid more attention to its qualities, and to the means of obtaining supplies of good water, as the magnificent remains of their aqueducts sufficiently testify, than the moderns, notwithstanding all our boasted improvements.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF DISEASES.

Blumenbach, in his work *de Generis Humani Varietate Nativa*, has enumerated the peculiarities in structure, functions, and diseases, by which man is distinguished from other animals. Among which he mentions,—Stature erect, —Hands two,—Pelvis broad and de-

prest,—Teeth meeting in horizontal contact.—A human being alone is possessed of proper nates.—*Membrana hymenis sequiori sexui propria; ut et frænum præputii viro.* The softness and flexibility of the cellular texture is peculiar to man, and probably enables him to sustain, with impunity, every variety of climate; man is omnivorous; he alone is possessed of the faculty of reason, and articulate speech; and capable of laughter and weeping.

Diseases peculiar to the human species are:

#### Of the eruptive kind,

Variolæ,	Morbilli,
Scarlatina,	Miliæres,
Petechiæ,	Pestis.

#### Hæmorrhages,

Epistaxis? Hæmorrhoides, Menorrhagia.

#### Diseases of the nervous system,

Hypochondriasis,	Hysteria,
Mania,	Melancholia,
Satiriasis,	Nymphomania,
Nostalgia,	Cretinismus.

#### Asthma Spasmodicum?

#### Constitutional Complaints.

Rachitis,	Scrofula,
Lues venerea,	Lepra.

#### Local Diseases.

Amenorrhœa,	Cancer?
Clavus,	Hernia congenita,
Herpes,	Tinea capitis,

Solus etiam inter tot animalia ructat.  
Heu mihi! tot mortes homini quot membra;  
malisque

Tot sumus infecti, mors ut medecina putetur.

Sed meliora speramus;

Et quoniam variant morbi, variabimus artes;  
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.

### DESPOTISM :

OR

### THE FALL OF THE JESUITS.

A POLITICAL ROMANCE,

*Illustrated by Historical Anecdotes.*

“Je dois regir en Dieu l’univers prevenu,  
Mon Empire est detruit si l’homme est reconnu.”—*Le Fanatisme de Voltaire.*

My empire falls if once they view the MAX!

[Readers who form their ideas of romance by the standard of the *Mysteries of Udolpho*, or who expect every work of this class to treat of sufferings from the tender passion, will be disappointed in the perusal of this work. The philosopher, the politician, and the moralist will, however, derive infinite satisfaction from its pages; and the following extracts from its preface and illustrative notes, prove that it is not the production



production of a writer for bread, but the work of an elegant and enlightened scholar.]

#### THE JESUITS.

The Jesuits were originally a Missionary Society; but the rude constitution of fanaticism and ambition, new-moulded by a dynasty of subtle Italians, from the school of the Florentine secretary, produced a government unparalleled in ancient or modern times. The General of the Jesuits was a *Sovereign*; and the Jesuits were a *People*, diffused in the two hemispheres, exhibiting the singular spectacle of a *secret Despotism*, tending to universal monarchy; a monstrous ambition, which could only exist by a perpetual growth of power, and spread itself by enormous subjection; practising the worst crimes of the worst governments; craft, perfidy, injustice, and irreligion: the use of spies, informers, and assassins; arbitrary imprisonment, social excommunication, and inquisitorial inquiry; all actuated by the unrelenting genius of a peculiar despotism, for it was to be as enlightened as powerful, as seductive as terrific.

Their true designs had never been developed, during two centuries; and their accusers had little more than vague surmises to urge against them. But the age had changed, though the Jesuits had not; and its strength produced their weakness. Their views were traced out; their means discovered; and the documents of their political crimes produced.

Once known, they ceased to exist. They had alarmed the sovereigns and the ministers of Europe; an evidence at once of their power and their guilt. The Jesuitic sovereign seemed struck by the instant lightning from heaven, and appealed to Rome; maternal Rome stretched out her withered hands over her child and her champion, grieving, while she herself united in one common sacrifice to peace—and the Jesuits were immolated!

While Europe resounded with the cry against the Jesuits, their precipitated fall was here listened to like an incredible tale, and indistinctly told. A Mysterious Society seemed to have perished in mystery. We had long lain out of the circle of their necromancy; and, of the Jesuits, nothing had remained in this country, but their name as a proverb.

Yet two of our great writers have expressly alluded to the invisible Jesuitic empire. Algernon Sydney, during his residence at Rome in 1661, a close ob-

server of political intrigues, in a letter to his father, tells this curious story: "The last week, at a time when all the cardinals weare at severall churches, it was soe ordered, that a gentleman put into every one of theire hands a printed memoriall, and retired immediately, before they could read it; and, being examined, it was found to be a most bitter invective against the Jesuits, as persons that set up a commonwealth amongst themselves, independent of and destructive unto the Pope's supremacy; representing them as politicale heretics, and with such sharpnesse, full of such truths as they cannot deny." Lord Chesterfield, in 1749, desires his son to get acquainted with the General of the Jesuits; "who, though he has no seeming power out of his own society, has more real influence over the whole world than any temporal prince in it."

Robertson, in his History of Charles V. has composed their history, and sketched their singular constitution. The narration is abruptly closed, as it did not further enter into his plan, by this observation:

"The causes which occasioned the ruin of this mighty body, as well as the circumstances and effects with which it has been attended in the different countries of Europe, are objects extremely worthy the attention of every intelligent observer of human affairs."

#### SECRET CAUSES OF EVENTS.

The most important events in modern history, were probably produced from very different motives, than their ostensible ones. The league in France was raised for "Religion, and the relief of public grievances"—such was the pretext; after the princes and the people became alike its victims, the league was discovered to have been formed by the pride and the ambition of the Guises, aided by the machinations of the Jesuits. A parallel event occurred between our Charles I. and the Scotch covenanters. His Majesty declares, "That religion is only pretended and used by them as a cloak to palliate their intended rebellion, is demonstrated by this, &c." "A large Declaration concerning the late Tumults in Scotland, 1639," p. 6.

The reformation, excellent as its results have proved in the cause of genuine freedom, originated in no purer source than human passions and selfish motives. It was the progeny of avarice in Germany, of novelty in France, and of love in England.

England. The latter elegantly alluded to by Gray :

“ And Gospel-light first beam'd from Bullen's eyes.”

The reformation is considered by the Duke of Nevers, in a work printed in 1590, and by Francis I. in his Apology in 1537, as a *Coup d'Etat* of Charles V. towards universal monarchy. The duke says, that Charles V. silently permitted Luther to establish his principles in Germany, that they might split the union of the elective princes, and facilitate, by their division, their more easy conquest ; thus to secure the imperial-crown hereditary in the House of Austria. Had he really felt any zeal for the Catholic religion, which he pretended to fight for, he would not have allowed the new doctrines to spread for more than twenty years without the least opposition.

The *Frondeurs*, a revolutionary party in France, which shook that kingdom under the administration of Cardinal Mazarine, had for their pretext the public freedom—but that faction, composed of some of the French princes and the mob, was entirely organized by Cardinal De Retz, who held them in hand at will, or spurred them for the occasion—all this out of a mere personal pique with Mazarine, who had not treated that vivacious genius with all the deference he required.—This appears from his own Memoirs.

Leo X. projected an alliance of the sovereigns of Christendom against the Turks. The avowed object was to oppose the progress of the Ottomans against the Mamelukes of Egypt, who were more friendly to the Christians—but the concealed motive with his Holiness was to enrich himself and his family with the spoils of Christendom, and to aggrandise the Papal power by war ; as, indeed, the policy of the popes had ever been in those mad crusades they excited against the East.

When James II. was so strenuous an advocate for *toleration* and *liberty of conscience*, in removing the Test Act, this enlightened principle of government was only an ostensible one with the bigot—the real motive was to introduce and make the Catholics predominant in the government—the result would have been, that “liberty of conscience” would soon have become “an overt act of treason.”

History might be recomposed in a new manner—it would not be to describe events and characters in the forms they

now appear. When we mistake the characters of men, we mistake the nature of things—secret history is often a treasure under ground.

Amilcar was the first author and contriver of the second Punic war, though he died ten years before the commencement of it, observes Polybius. A distinction, he says, should be always made between the cause and pretext, and aptly illustrates the observation by the facts he explains.—“A statesman (adds that wise and grave historian) who knows not how to trace the origin of events, and discern the different sources from whence they take their rise, may be compared with a physician, who neglects to inform himself of the causes of those distempers which he is called in to cure. Our pains can never be better employed than in searching out the causes of events, for the most trifling incidents give birth to matters of the greatest moment and importance.”—*Hampton's Polybius*, book iii. c. 1.

There is a volume, intituled, “*Farfaloni degli Antichi dall' Abatte Lancelotti, Ven. 1668* ;” the design more fortunate than the execution,

#### THE JESUITS IN THE INDIES.

The immense power and wealth of the Jesuits in both Indies, originated in a simple contrivance.

Acquaviva, among their early founders, of a noble family of Naples, was a great politician in the school of the Florentine Secretary. One of the vows enjoined by their romantic founder was the profession of poverty—but Acquaviva perceived that poverty was no political virtue. He obtained from Gregory XII. the privilege of trading with the Indies, “for the happier issue of the missions!”—a simple project by which the pope lost nothing, but which the foresight of Acquaviva contemplated as a source of unrivalled power.

As these missions became colonies, one of their earliest objects was gradually to possess themselves of the Spanish and Portuguese Indian domains, and thus to become masters of their rich productions. Their pretext was, the conversion of souls ; but, in pursuing their design, they practised so many stratagems, and were influenced by such human motives, that their enemies found no want of accusations. Pasquier, one of their earliest adversaries, asks, where do these missionaries direct their steps ? to a distant country *quas Indias vocant*, which



which Ignatius preferred to Turkey, because it was a more difficult conquest. But the truth is, they soon abandoned the North for the opulence of the East!

They perpetually intrigued in the cabinets of Portugal and Spain to extend their oriental dominions. In the "Recueil Chronologique," published by order of the court of Lisbon, many of their secret manœuvres and cabinet intrigues are displayed from their original memoirs and correspondence discovered in the various jesuitical archives which were seized on by the government at the time of their expulsion from Portugal.

In their character as royal confessors they were admitted to a close intimacy with the royal families. Their silent victories were often obtained on the death-bed of superstitious princes. They had the advantage of turning to their views the young princes, whom they educated. Don Theodosius, the Prince of the Brazils, humiliated himself so far as to become one of their novices; and, had he lived, the crown of Portugal would have been in the possession of the Jesuits. On his death-bed, they pressed him to request of his parents, knowing that at such a moment nothing would be refused, that they would assist the Order to form an establishment at Cape-Verd, with annual subsidies for their maintenance. The parents, with tears in their eyes, and their son dying in their arms, could not refuse the solemn injunction, which opened Africa to the political missionaries.

By a political stratagem, they contrived that the courts of justice in the Indian provinces should be filled by themselves; thus the King of Portugal was salaried courts of justice, which in reality belonged to the General of the Jesuits.

When they obtained this power, the next step was the boldest imaginable. They resolved to shut out all intercourse between the white men and the Indians, of whom they had now become the lords, under the disguise of fathers. They issued two extraordinary edicts, in the King's name, in which, under the pretext of protecting the Indians from the ill treatment of the whites, (as the Jesuits asserted,) they actually contrived to shut the Spaniards and Portuguese out of the interior of the country. The commerce was exclusively their own. When the captain-general attempted to encourage an intercourse between the Europeans and the natives, and perhaps to discover what was passing in the con-

cealed interior, the Jesuits had him tried as a criminal, in a court of which the judges were Jesuits.

Their next extraordinary invention, was that of creating a language for their state; an idiom to be understood only by their own subjects; an effectual interdiction of all intercourse with strangers, from the utter impossibility of communicating their sentiments. This language, called Guarani, was the only one permitted to be spoken in their republic. The complete subjugation of these Indians, by ignorance and superstition, was such, that they imagined there was no other power in the whole universe but the Jesuitic; no despotism ever appeared more firmly established than that of their theocratical dominion.

It required a war of five years of the allied forces of Spain and Portugal before the good fathers were conquered.

#### COUPS D'ETAT.

It is evident that, among the *Arcana Imperiorum*, there are sometimes what the political French term, great *Coups d'Etat*, to be performed; and these *Arcana*, to adopt the words of Tacitus, are nothing less than *flagitia imperiorum*, political crimes, supposed to be necessary to preserve the governing powers. These can only be confided to a select few, to whom the inmost secrets of the king's heart are exposed; from their nature they cannot be deliberated on in any open Council. Henry III. could not have concerted the death of the Guises; Henry IV. that of Biron; nor Elizabeth that of Essex, but in the darkest corners of their Cabinets. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, a great *Coup d'Etat*, could not admit of an open Council—Stratagems are silent things. We do not take hares by blowing a trumpet, nor catch birds by hanging bells in the nets, observed a shrewd statesman.

By a curious fact given in the Memoirs of Anne of Austria, it appears that Charles I. consulted with his queen on the means of arresting the Five Members of the Popular Party. When he had gone to perform this *Coup d'Etat*, her Majesty, looking on her watch every minute, and waiting anxiously for the news, said to Lady Carlisle, "Rejoice! by this time I hope the king is master in his own dominions, and such and such persons must be now arrested!" Lady Carlisle contrived to leave her Majesty, dispatched a letter to one of the members, and acquainted him with the contrivance.

Whe

When the king entered the house it was too late. "The birds I see are flown!" said Charles. The queen lamented all her life her indiscretion, which in a few minutes undid the state.

#### JESUIT CORRESPONDENCE.

Some notion may be formed of the intelligence conveyed to the General of the Jesuits in the following statement of his correspondence from all parts of the world.

	Letters.
37 Provincials, who were to write monthly - - -	444
612 Superiors of Colleges, who wrote monthly - - -	2448
340 Superiors of Houses of Residence were to write quarterly - -	1360
59 Masters of Novices of 59 Houses of Noviciates, to write quarterly	236
1048 Consultors, Admonishers, and Socials, who were to write at least twice a year - - -	2096
	6584

Total of letters indispensably written, without calculating those on particular occasions, the correspondence of two hundred missions, and eighty-four houses of the professed.

These 6584 letters divided by 37, the number of the provinces make 177 states of every kingdom and every province. So that the General was regularly informed 177 times a year of all affairs in every part of a kingdom where the Order existed.

The spirit of this perpetual stream of intelligence flowing into the Jesuits' College at Rome, may be conceived, when the Institute ordains that the materials of their periodical or extraordinary dispatches shall relate to the state of persons, and generally all objects of a public nature; not only those which more particularly pass "among ourselves, but also those which concern the *externals*." The General must not be ignorant of any important event, although it appears to have no connection with the affairs of the Order. The *externals* was the term which described persons who were out of their pale. The details of affairs, persons, and the provinces, must be given as circumstantially as if the provincial had been present at what he described. Some letters were only to be written in cypher, of which the General furnished the key.

Cautious language was enjoined when they wrote concerning the *externals*, that the style of the letter might admit of a favourable construction—in case it was

intercepted.—*Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus.*

#### AMBASSADOR

Wicquefort's curious *Traité des Ambassadeurs* abounds with singular researches. He was a great politician; but his *Treatise* is dated "de ma Prison;" by this one might imagine he was not quite so great in practice as in theory. But we have seen in our traps a mouse with very long whiskers.

It is acknowledged that ambassadors are only honourable spies; and Wicquefort asserts, "they may with impunity corrupt the ministers of the court at which they reside; because it is the duty of an ambassador to promote the service and the interests of his master, and to employ for this purpose all sorts of means and intrigues." Honest men may be thankful for the confession.

*Resident* ambassadors are a political refinement, comparatively of modern date. They were formerly, as in Comines' days, only *Extraordinary*—so that the malady of the state was then temporary, but not contagious. Comines, who had learnt his trade under a most shrewd and adroit master of the craft, (Louis XI.) lays down as a maxim, that "it is more advantageous to a prince to send ambassadors than to receive them, because they are spies who are held in honour, and can intrigue in safety." Wicquefort smiles at the imbecility of the Ottoman Court, who never send but receive ambassadors—priding themselves in these visitors, as a public evidence of homages paid to their power. The Turks have recently lost their pride and improved their politics.

The political genius of the House of Austria made ambassadors sedentary; and destined them to penetrate into the secrets of the courts where they reside, and to be ready on occasions to stir their intrigues. It was by this invention, (says Anquetil in his *L'Intrigue du Cabinet*, Vol. I. 163) that, during the league in France, Spain became the mistress of the great, and of the people; and she found it so much her interest, that it was continued under Henry IV. whose courage and sagacity required her closest espionage. Her ambassador in ordinary was Don Balthazar de Zuniga, a refined politician, too capable of answering all the views of the council of Philip III.

While Zuniga remained in France that kingdom



kingdom was never tranquil; he gave them his advice, almost as dangerous as the money he distributed; and his promises, more seducing than both. He had the address to gain over to himself, the queen, the mistress, and the monarch; and Spain governed France.—So much for an ambassador!

#### POLITICAL VERACITY.

Politics have been defined the *Art of imposing upon men, as well as of governing them*. When Ferdinand V. was accused by Louis XII. that he had imposed upon him already twice—Ferdinand, turning to his minister, exultingly exclaimed, "The Frenchman lies; I have imposed upon him ten times at least!"

It was observed of Alexander V. and his son, Cæsar Borgia, that the one never did what he said, and the other never said what he designed to do. It was their maxim to give their word to any one, but to keep it with no one. Reproached with breach of faith, they replied, that they had sworn indeed,—but they had not sworn to keep their oath. Charles V. always swore *à fé de homme de bien*! He had Machiavel translated for his use, and made it his bible!

What a world of credulity must such great politicians imagine the universe to be, if in their state of self-delusion they think they deceive it! The oaths of politicians are put into the same bottomless bag which the mythologist said Jove used for the oaths of lovers—they are never to be found again! The oath is not an oath; or what is not an oath is an oath, as occasion determines—admirable logic for the pupils of Machiavel!

#### NICK NAMES AND CALUMNIES.

Men in private life who go down to their graves with some unlucky *Sobriquet*, or nick-name, are not usually so feelingly alive as a minister of state. *Malagrida* occasioned the first Marquis of Lansdown some trouble; *Jemmy Twitcher* to Lord Sandwich, &c.; but the Earl of Godolphin, in Anne's reign, was so provoked by that of *Volpone*, that it was the occasion of driving him into the opposition party! "He became a thorough convert by a perfect trifle, taking fire at a nick-name delivered by Dr. Sacheverell, with great indiscretion, from the pulpit, which he applied to himself; magnanimity was none of his virtues."\*

\* Swift's Four Last Years, p. 19.

The following passage on Political Calumny is extracted from Busenbarrn, one of the favourite authors of the Order; their great advocate for Regicide. The Jesuits practised this Machiavelian and diabolical principle; and a more recent and formidable politician has often adopted it.

"Whoever would ruin a person or a government, must begin this operation by spreading calumnies, to defame the person or the government; for it is certain that the calumniator will always find a great number of men inclined to believe him, or to side with him; it therefore follows that the object of such calumnies, once lowered in credit by such means, will soon lose that reputation and power on which it is founded: and sink under the vindictive attacks of the calumniator."

The enemies of the Jesuits have formed a list of great names who have become the victims of their atrocious calumnies.

#### RICHELIEU'S ADVICE.

Extract from a letter of Cardinal de Richelieu to father Suffren, a Jesuit, on the appointment of the latter to be confessor to Louis XIII.

"Never dabble, I beseech you, in state-affairs; because, not to mention that they do not belong to your province, you know not the data; and therefore it is impossible you should be able to pass a sound judgment on them.

"Never go to the king except when he sends for you, that you may not make yourself too common and cheap.

"Never talk of the affairs of a third or a fourth person merely on temporal concerns; that is not your business. You would otherwise be fatigued with the importunity of petitioners, and diverted from the duties of your station.

"Strive not ambitiously to have the disposal of bishoprics and abbacies, or other favours, as they ought always to come spontaneously from the king.

"As to what concerns your Order, have but little to do with its affairs; and let men see that your Order does not seek to obtain any thing from the king through the influence of his confessor.

"I could wish that your fathers would not persist in erecting colleges in places where they meet with opposition; and even that they would not go every where whither they are called. They might content themselves with preaching, hearing confessions, catechising, and instructing

ing youth, where they are already established, without being desirous of diving into the affairs of other towns, of private persons, and family secrets."

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AN INQUIRY  
INTO THE  
VARIOUS SYSTEMS  
OF  
*POLITICAL ECONOMY*;  
THEIR ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES;  
AND THE  
THEORY MOST FAVOURABLE TO  
THE INCREASE  
OF  
NATIONAL WEALTH.

By *CHARLES GANILH, Advocate.*

Translated from the French,

By *D. BOILEAU,*

Author of "An Introduction to the Study of  
Political Economy," &c.

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[We have been agreeably disappointed by the perusal of this work. We did not expect to receive much light from a Frenchman on political subjects, during the present vassalage of the press in France. Mr. Ganilh has, however, discussed all the topics of economical and financial science with freedom and ability; and has detected many errors and prejudices of English authors. As no subjects are at this time more deeply important to the people of England, the fate of the empire depending on the management of its finances, so no service could have been more useful or acceptable than this translation. Our extracts demonstrate the ability of Mr. Boileau, in the arduous duty of transferring from one language to another, the verbal precision which belongs to this branch of knowledge.]

WEALTH OF NATIONS.

**A**S if the inability of ascending to general causes were the inevitable lot of man, the sources of wealth have hitherto escaped the most laborious research. The solitary and combined efforts of the most distinguished writers among the most celebrated nations of Europe, have alike been unable to dispel the clouds in which these sources are enveloped. Opinions, arguments, and controversies, have been heaped together, which by their variety and multitude embarrass and fatigue the mind. The difficulty of choosing among them disheartens the student, and leaves him in doubt and uncertainty.

If he should wish to know wherein national wealth consists; how great will be his surprise at meeting with so many

different and even contrary opinions, in the most esteemed authors!

Some state the wealth of a nation to consist in the totality of the private property of its individuals; others, in the abundance of its commodities.

Some, distinguishing public from private wealth, assign to the former a value in use, but no value in exchange; and to the latter, an exchangeable value, but no value in use; and make public wealth to consist in the exchangeable value of the net produce.

Others state wealth to consist of all the material commodities which man may use to supply a want, or to procure an enjoyment either to his sensuality, his fancy, or his vanity.

One writer considers wealth as being the possession of a thing more desired by those who have it not, than by those who possess it. Another defines wealth, whatever is superfluous.

A modern French writer calls wealth the accumulation of superfluous labour; and a noble English author, who, like the French economists, distinguishes individual riches from public wealth, submits that the latter may be accurately defined to consist of all that man desires as useful or delightful to him; and the former to consist of all that man desires as useful or delightful to him, which exists in a degree of scarcity."

The same uncertainty, the existence of which we deplore concerning the nature of wealth, prevails with regard to the means of contributing to its progress and increase.

Those who first wrote upon this important subject, being misled by appearances, assigned the precious metals obtained in return for the raw and manufactured produce exported, as the cause of the wealth of nations.

Others ascribed the origin of wealth to the lowering of the legal rate of interest.

Deluded by a fascinating and captious theory, the French economists greatly extolled the agricultural system.

Adam Smith gave the preference to "Labour improved by subdivision, which fixes and realizes itself in some particular object or vendible commodity, which lasts for some time, at least, after that labour is past."

Lord Lauderdale, in the work which we have quoted before, and which is remarkable for the sagacity of its views, states that, "man owes his wealth to the power of directing his labour to the increasing of the quantity, or the meliorating



rating of the quality of the productions of nature, and to the power of supplanting and performing labour by capital."

The same variety of opinions prevails respecting the action or influence of the causes of wealth, their immediate or distant effects, their apparent or actual results. Some systems agree on a few points, and are at variance upon others; and, generally, they disagree in so many respects, that they cannot possibly be reconciled, reduced to common tenets, or condensed into a general theory.

Hence that variety of systems among authors, of methods among governments, of opinions among the learned; hence the discouragement of those who are desirous of studying the science, and the indifference of those whom a sense of duty should prompt to acquire the knowledge of it; hence also the little consideration which political economy enjoys in the world, and its total exclusion from the official routine of practical statesmen.

Some, in other respects well-informed men, doubt the existence of the science; others are even tempted to consider it as an occult one, the mysteries of which are revealed only to a few initiated individuals: thus ignorance, in this as in many other instances, begets alike incredulity and superstition.

#### HISTORY OF WEALTH.

The Persians, who appear first on the theatre of history, were wretchedly poor when Cyrus led them on to the conquest of the rich provinces of Asia. The hope of emerging from misery was their only motive for war. They became conquerors for the sole purpose of enriching themselves; which they accomplished by stripping the vanquished of their wealth. The treasures of the conquered kings were distributed by the conquerors among the army, the generals and grandees, and all who, by their services, had deserved well of the country. Thus the wealth acquired by contest contributed, at first, to the grandeur of the monarch, and the splendour of the empire: but it soon devolved to a few favourites, courtiers, and slaves; to all, in short, who, under absolute governments, feed upon the depravity and vices of their masters. From that instant, the power of the Persians declined, until it vanished before an army of thirty-five thousand men, who issued from the barren mountains of Macedonia, or enlisted from among the *Proletarians* of Greece.

The Spartans, not less celebrated for

their contempt of riches, than for their astonishing exploits, appear little entitled to the praises with which they have been honored by posterity. They reduced the *Helotes*, or inhabitants of Laconia, to servitude, for the purpose of imposing upon them the task of supplying their wants. The laws of *Lycurgus*, which had grounded the happiness of the Spartans upon disinterestedness, and obtained the approbation of the gods, could not guard them against the dangerous seduction of riches. Scarcely had their illustrious lawgiver ended his days, than, regardless of both his laws and the gods, who had, as it were, declared themselves the patrons of those laws, the Spartans conquered *Messene*, and exterminated, banished, or enslaved, its inhabitants: and it is this very period of oppression and robbery which marks the beginning of their importance and consideration among the nations of Greece. The Spartans did not shew themselves more rigid observers of the laws of *Lycurgus* against riches at any other period of their history: the ransom of the prisoners of war, and the booty of *Plataea*, were eagerly heaped up in their public exchequer; and, as *Plutarch* justly observes, "private individuals took care not to despise the wealth which the public held in estimation; and the law which watched at the gate of their houses to keep them shut against gold, proved less powerful than the example of the people, who opened their hearts to cupidity." Their best generals, and even the chiefs of the state, were bribed by the gold of the great king, and the owls of Athens crept under the roof of the covetous Spartan.

But the wealth which the Spartans so anxiously coveted, could only be obtained by reducing other nations to poverty and wretchedness; and when, in spite of the laws of *Lycurgus*, riches had been accumulated in the hands of a few citizens, Sparta had no longer any virtue, glory, or power, left.

*Attica*, a dreary and barren country, could never have emerged from the state of indigence to which it was condemned by nature, had not the road to wealth and the career of ambition been opened to it, by its sharing in the booty of *Plataea*, and in the plunder of the cities of *Asia Minor*, which had declared for *Xerxes*. This first favour of fortune proved a powerful stimulus to fresh usurpations. The Athenians seized the chest containing the contributions which the con-

federate cities of Greece levied among themselves to repel the attacks of the great king. They arbitrarily raised the rate of contribution, subdued several towns and islands of Greece, stripped them of their riches, and exacted exorbitant tributes. Thus the Athenians grew rich by plundering, oppressing, and impoverishing other nations; and, as their wealth got into the hands of a few citizens, it caused the ruin of the state.

A few huts, built by strangers and fugitives on the sea-shore, were the slender foundations on which arose the magnificent towers of proud Carthage. Though at first indebted for her wealth to commerce, it was the plunder of the small nations by which she was surrounded, and the conquest and spoliation of the principal islands of the Mediterranean, and of a large portion of Africa, which gave Carthage so considerable a mass of riches, that many of her private citizens were said to have been as wealthy as monarchs.

The history of Carthage does not inform us what became of her riches, and whether they fell exclusively into the hands of a few citizens, as they did among the other nations of antiquity: but it positively acquaints us with the inordinate passion of the Carthaginians for wealth. The citizens were obliged to pay for whatever the state might or ought to have given them, and were paid for every service rendered to the state. This mutual avarice of the citizens, and of the state, caused the misfortunes and ruin of Carthage, and produced precisely the same effects which wealth, exclusively possessed by a small portion of the people, had produced in other countries.

It was the fear of having their treasures diminished by extraordinary expences, which, in the first Punic war, induced that celebrated people to submit to the laws of the conqueror.

During the second Punic war, the interested policy of Carthage confined her attention to the preservation of her wealth. She did not extend her views to futurity, nor did she appreciate the genius of Hannibal. The Carthaginians were alarmed at the expences to which they were driven by the illustrious exploits of that great man; while they ought to have sacrificed the whole of their riches to his glory. And it may be asserted of this extraordinary people, that, if the passion for riches was the principal cause of their greatness and power,

it was the dread of poverty which occasioned their decline and ruin.

Rome, founded by robbers and fugitive slaves who were seeking an asylum against the justice of the laws, had for a long time nothing to subsist upon but what the Romans seized from the harvest of their neighbours. "Romulus was almost constantly at war to procure citizens, women, or lands.

"The Romans used to return loaded with the spoils of the vanquished, which consisted in sheaves of corn and droves of cattle. This proved the occasion of great rejoicings.

"Rome, being without commerce, and almost without arts, pillage was the only road to wealth. There was, nevertheless, a kind of order and regularity observed in plundering. The booty was collected into one heap, and distributed amongst the soldiers.

"The citizens, who had been left at home, shared likewise in the fruits of victory. Part of the conquered lands was confiscated and divided into two lots; one was sold for the benefit of the public, and the other given to the poor citizens, at an annual rent paid to the state.

"As the glory of a General rose in proportion to the quantity of gold and silver that graced his triumph, none was left to the vanquished.

"Rome continued enriching herself, and every successive war enabled her to undertake a new one.

"Her allies, or friends, ruined themselves by the astonishing quantity of presents which they made to obtain a greater degree of favor, or to secure that which they enjoyed: half of the sums sent to Rome for this purpose, would have been sufficient for her overthrow.

"Masters of the world, the Romans arrogated to themselves all its treasures. Their rapacity as conquerors was less unjust, than as legislators. Having heard of the immense wealth of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, they passed a law by which they constituted themselves heirs of a living monarch, and confiscated the dominions of an ally.

"The cupidity of private individuals was not backward in seizing whatever had escaped public avarice. Magistrates and governors made a traffic of their injustice to princes. Competitors vied in rushing to their ruin to purchase a doubtful protection against a rival, whose means were not yet completely exhausted;



ed; and the grandees of Rome shewed themselves devoid of that kind of probity which even robbers observe in their crimes.

"No right, in short, lawful or usurped, could be kept safe but by means of bribes. To obtain money, princes robbed the temples of their gods, and confiscated the property of their richest subjects: they perpetrated a thousand crimes, to throw all the money of the world into the lap of the Romans."

This eloquent sketch of the passion for wealth among the Romans, sufficiently explains the motive of their wars, and the cause of their victories, conquests, domination, and power; and it is with as much justice as truth, that the immortal Montesquieu has ranked their passion for wealth among the causes of their grandeur.

The riches accumulated at Rome by the pillage of Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and the opulent countries of Asia, became the exclusive patrimony of the Patricians, and caused those perpetual complaints of the Plebeians against them. They gave birth to the dissensions which convulsed the republic, and repeatedly threatened its dissolution. They furnished Julius Cæsar with the means of destroying public liberty, and enslaving his country. It was the prodigious wealth which the proscription of the richest citizens of Rome had placed at his disposal, that enabled Octavius to raise the Roman empire on the wrecks of the republic. It was, also, merely by lavishing upon the legions, Prætorian bands, and Barbarians, (by whose seditions and continual incursions their power was constantly menaced,) the produce of the proscriptions, murder and spoliation of the richest individuals of Rome and the empire, that his successors maintained themselves on the imperial throne. As long as mere private persons, whom their riches assimilated to kings, were smarting under the extortion of the emperors, the people felt no abhorrence for their execrable crimes; but, as soon as the increasing load of taxes began to fall heavy upon themselves, the nation revolted against their oppressors; and from that instant the empire rapidly declined, and shortly became the prey of the Barbarians.

Lastly, it was with the sole view to possess themselves of the wealth of which the Romans had stripped the then known world, that the barbarous nations which surrounded the empire from the north to

the east, commenced their harassing incursions, and contended for its wrecks.

Thus wealth, among the nations of antiquity, was alike the object of individual and public ambition, and the principal cause of the elevation and grandeur, and of the decline and utter ruin, of states.

The people of the middle age exhibited the same spectacle, and experienced the same fate.

"The country of the Scythians being almost uncultivated," says Montesquieu, "its inhabitants were subject to frequent famines: they partly subsisted upon their trade with the Romans, who used to bring them provisions from the provinces bordering on the Danube: the Barbarians gave them in return the commodities they had gained by pillage, the prisoners they had made, and the gold and silver they had been paid to keep the peace: but, when the Romans became unable to grant them tributes sufficient for their maintenance, the Scythians were forced to seek for settlements."

Wherever they settled, they possessed themselves of a more or less considerable portion of land, of slaves, and moveable wealth; and, although these riches must have appeared immense, comparatively to their former poverty, they yet failed to produce upon them any of the effects which they had produced upon the nations of antiquity. The Barbarians underwent none of the vicissitudes which those nations had experienced. They preserved their spirit, their manners, their character, and their propensity to robbery and devastation. "To have no one to rob was to them a state of slavery."

When they had no more enemies to fight, no more booty to share, no more wealth to wrest by conquest from strangers, they warred with themselves to strip each other; and hurried along by their insatiable cupidity, they paid no respect either to the identity of origin, to the ties of blood, to political connections, or even to social and domestic relations. Fathers, children, and brothers, kings and barons, lords and vassals, all fought against each other to increase their riches, by the misery and poverty of their enemies: but their culpable expectations were deceived. Their general and continued hostilities, instead of enriching them, created every where wretchedness and indigence; harbingers of the revolution which caused the destruction of the feudal government.

The

The barrenness of the soil introduced, among the Arabs, a maxim in which they have confided, and which they have practised ever since the most remote times: they suppose that, by the division of the earth, the rich and fertile climates have been assigned to other branches of the human race; and that the posterity of the proscribed Ismaël, from whom they are descended, may recover, by fraud or violence, that portion of his inheritance of which he has been unjustly deprived. According to Pliny, the Arabs were equally addicted to theft and commerce; the caravans which journey across the desert, must either ransom themselves, or submit to be pillaged: and ever since the remote times of Job and Sesostrius, their neighbours have been the victims of their rapacity.

Mahomet took advantage of this rapacious disposition, and, by methodizing it, united all the Arabs under the banners of religion and plunder. He set apart the fifth of the gold and silver, prisoners, cattle; and moveables, for pious uses; the rest was divided in equal portions among the soldiers who had contributed to the victory, and those who were left to guard the camp. The share of those who had fallen in battle, was given to their widows and orphans.

The first caliphs who succeeded Mahomet, took no more from the public revenue than was requisite to supply their wants, which were extremely moderate; the remainder was scrupulously applied to the salutary work of spiritual and temporal conquests.

The Abbassides impoverished themselves by the multitude of their wants, and their neglect of economy. Instead of taking ambition for their guide, as the first caliphs had done, their leisure, their affections, and the faculties of their minds, were solely engrossed with the pomp of feasts and pleasures. The rewards due to valour were dissipated by women and eunuchs; and the royal camp was incumbered with the luxury of the palace. The same vices spread among their subjects; and from that instant their tottering empire, dismembered and disunited, left nothing in their impoverished hands but the barren deposit of the laws and religion of Mahomet.

This hasty sketch of the passion for wealth among the nations of antiquity and the middle age, of the course it followed, and the share it had in their elevation and decline, leaves no doubt respecting the power and empire which

it exercised over them. Notwithstanding the high colouring employed by historians, misled or prepossessed by their splendid exploits, to disguise it under the veil of their love of country, glory, or religion, truth pierces every where; the insatiable thirst for riches betrays itself in all their private actions and public concerns; and the illusions of the historian, and the fascinating powers of the orator, are both dispelled by the torch of history.

Modern nations are not less addicted to the passion for wealth, than the nations of antiquity and the middle age; but they have been more enlightened, or more fortunate in the direction which they have given to that passion; and their wisdom or good fortune has not only guarded them against the perils and calamities attached to riches, but has also made them sensible of the unforeseen, incalculable, and unbounded benefit, which wealth is capable of affording.

Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, which first attract our attention in modern history, turned their passion for wealth to labour, industry, and commerce. Though they sometimes fought for the advantages of an exclusive commerce, yet their wars had less tendency to enrich them with the spoils of their enemies, than to remove competitors and rivals, and to enjoy a monopoly, of which the ignorance of the times magnified the benefits, and kept the vices and inconveniencies out of sight.

It was only in labour, manufactures, and commerce, that the Hanseatic towns and the cities of Spain, France, and Germany, when they escaped from feudal depredations, sought for means to enrich themselves; the object of their league was merely a system of defence, contrived for the interest of the confederates, and inoffensive in every other respect. History accuses them neither of violence nor of usurpation.

Though the Portuguese and Spaniards, who first sailed beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and found a new world, shewed themselves on the outset as conquerors in the countries which they discovered; though they carried thither the spirit of rapine and conquest, which was still predominant in Europe, and stripped the vanquished of their manufactured and agricultural produce; the impossibility of turning this produce to advantage, without exchanging it for other commodities, subjected them to the law of



of competition, which, as it excludes every idea of force and violence, is intimately allied to notions of justice and equality, and connects all men by the need in which they stand of each other.

This barter, exchange, or commerce, which was become the basis of the connection of the European nations with each other, exercised also a favorable influence over their relations with the nations of Hindoostan and America. In vain do force and violence still attempt to keep them in subjection, and to maintain an odious monopoly in those two portions of the globe. Modern nations have no solid and durable means to enrich themselves, but by labour, by the development and improvement of their faculties, by the economy and rapid circulation of their produce, and by its wise application, distribution, and consumption. From Kamtschatka to the Pillars of Hercules, from the Elbe to the Ionian Sea, labour is the power which distributes wealth, and whose favors all nations implore; and it is particularly worthy of remark, that this wealth, far from occasioning the destruction or decline of opulent nations, has proved the firmest support of their prosperity, power, and grandeur. Whenever particular causes have dried up or diminished the source and abundance of this wealth, nations have declined in consideration, grandeur, and power, in the ratio of their impoverishment. Venice, Genoa, Florence, the Hanseatic Towns, and even Holland, lost their preponderance, or political influence, only when their commerce, the principal source of their riches, declined, and, taking a different road, went to enrich nations possessed of a more extensive territory and a larger population.

#### INFERENCES DRAWN FROM HISTORY.

The nations of antiquity, as well as those of the middle age and modern times, have all been ruled by the passion for riches: they only differ in the means employed to satisfy that passion. This difference satisfactorily explains the various effects which wealth has had upon these different nations, and throws a brilliant light upon its true nature.

The ancients, and the people of the middle age, knew and practised but one way to grow rich, and to increase and keep their riches: they placed their hope and confidence in the right of the strongest, to which they made their institutions, their laws, their manners, and

their customs, subservient. Their only object was to render their population numerous, brave, skilled in arms, and always ready to sacrifice themselves for the purpose of subduing other nations and seizing their wealth.

But, by a singular fatality, it happened that, in proportion as these nations improved in military science, as their arms were successful, and their wealth augmented by victories, their domination lost its stability, they became less able to defend themselves, their grandeur shortly declined, and they were soon subdued.

Both moralists and publicists have observed this phenomenon, and have thence inferred that wealth caused the fall of the great empires of antiquity: and it must be confessed, that their opinion appears indeed an immediate consequence of the most certain and best authenticated facts.

But have they not gone too far, when they magnified this consequence into a principle, and pronounced the wealth and safety of nations, and the opulence and preservation of empires, to be absolutely incompatible?

Had they inquired without prejudice into the causes which rendered riches fatal to the Persians, to the Greeks, to the Carthaginians, to the Romans, and to the nations of the middle age, they would have perceived that these causes did not arise from a vice particularly inherent in wealth, but from the system of violence by which these nations acquired their riches; from the nature of their military government, which concentrated wealth in the least numerous class, and, as it enslaved or impoverished the other classes, rendered wealth equally fatal to the rich and to the poor, to individuals and to the state.

Among the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, the people were divided into two classes. One, composed of slaves, formed three-fourths, two-thirds, or at least half of the population. The other, composed of freemen, formed the state, the nation, the country.

Although all the individuals of this class had an equal right to the benefits of the social compact, they yet did not share these benefits in equal portions.

Independently of the inequality of individual faculties, which in every community opposes the equal distribution of wealth, an essentially military government favoured this inequality, and aggravated its pressure and misery.

At the origin of empires the vices of this

this concentration were not felt, because the military force consisted of all the citizens, and all had more or less share in the booty and riches conquered upon the enemy. The desire of wealth was at that period the surest pledge of victory, and the most powerful cause of the elevation and grandeur of the state. But, when the whole body of the citizens was no longer wanted either for defence or for attack, when one part of the forces of the state sufficed for its views and projects, the military government became concentrated; and wealth, following the laws of this concentration, passed almost exclusively into the hands of those who were invested with power.

In vain did the classes, deprived of their share in the general riches, murmur and revolt at the voice of a tribune, a demagogue, an ephorus, or a popular orator; their cries were stifled or appeased, but the wrongs of which they complained were not repaired, and wealth always followed the bias of concentration. Matters went so far, that the greatest number of freemen had no means of subsistence but what they derived from the generosity of their patrons, the liberality of candidates, and the distributions made by the public exchequer.

Such a distribution of wealth must inevitably prove fatal. It gave every thing to a small number of individuals, and denied every thing to the general mass of citizens. It created at once extreme poverty and extreme wealth; it placed want on one side, and on the other the arbitrary power of prolonging or ending its misery. It inevitably occasioned every disorder attendant on general depravity, perverted institutions, laws, and manners, corrupted the morals of the people, and subverted justice and humanity.

Slaves, over whom their masters generally had the right of life and death, were and must necessarily have been the passive instruments of their caprices and vices.

The freemen who were poor, and dependent for their subsistence on the liberality and munificence of the wealthy, had not, and could not have, any other conduct, morality, or virtue, than that of their patrons, magistrates, and benefactors.

The rich themselves, while they enjoyed their immense riches, had nothing to fear, nothing to hope, nothing to wish for. What virtues must they have been possessed of not to be absolutely vicious!

What notions could they have of domestic duties, of the relations of masters and slaves, magistrates and citizens, nations and individuals! The power of satisfying every desire vitiates them all, and renders virtue too difficult, not to say, impossible.

This distribution of wealth smothered every private and public virtue in the bud, and nurtured only the vices destructive of social order.

Both the slaves who were submissive to the will of their masters, and the freemen who depended on the kindness of their patrons, were indifferent to the fate of their country, and took no interest either in its safety or in its glory.

The rich, as sole possessors of wealth, and exclusively invested with public offices, shared, or contended for, the supreme power, made war or peace, maintained public order or fomented civil discords, and acted right or wrong, at their convenience or pleasure.

This concentration of wealth and power among the rich had so reduced the number of individuals interested in the safety of the state, that every page of ancient history records the difficulty of finding defenders for the country, and of levying and recruiting armies. We see the number of combatants decreasing every where in proportion to the increased wealth of the state and its concentration in one single class.

When the law of the Ephorus Epitadeus allowed the Spartans to sell their landed property, and to dispose of it by will, and when the estates which had been distributed by Lycurgus among nine thousand citizens were possessed by one hundred individuals, Sparta had no longer any soldiers, army, or power.

When Athens contained within her walls individuals possessed of three miles of land, while others had not wherewith to get buried, Demosthenes vainly proposed to raise an army of two thousand foot and five hundred horse; a third only of which was to consist of citizens; no one was ready to defend a country which was become the property of a few families.

At Carthage, the wealth produced by commerce and conquest did not follow the law of concentration of military governments: her political constitution did not accumulate it exclusively in the lap of one class of the people. Hence her citizens were not infected with any of the vices that occasioned the ruin of the other ancient nations; and, though Carthage



thage perished like them, it was neither from the same causes nor by the fatal influence of wealth.

But her riches did not prove of great utility for her defence; perhaps they were even rather unfavourable to those civil and political virtues which are so essential to the prosperity and preservation of states: the reason of this may again be found in the polluted source from which her riches sprang. As the fruits of commerce and conquest, the wealth of Carthage partook of the vices of both: the parsimony of the merchant tarnished the warlike virtues of the soldier, and the avidity of the soldier impaired the social virtues of the merchant; both were less occupied with the state than with their private interests, and less anxious for their country than for their wealth. But in this instance these vices were not the offspring of wealth, they proceeded chiefly from the conquests to which the Carthaginians owed the greatest part of their riches. The influence of the commercial spirit could not prevail over the spirit of conquest; they mutually perverted each other, and became equally incapable of saving and defending the country.

Lastly; Rome, which during the second Punic war counted two hundred and fifty thousand men under arms, beheld, when she was become mistress of the world, her liberty decided at Pharsale by sixty-three thousand combatants, forty-one thousand of whom were in the army of Pompey, and twenty-two thousand in that of Cæsar; and the world submitted to the decision of that famous battle.

What more striking proof can there be required of the fatal effects of the concentration of riches? And is it possible to ascribe to any other cause the numberless calamities which hurled all the empires of antiquity from the summit of grandeur and power?

The Barbarians, who invaded the Roman empire in the middle age, left to the vanquished a part of their riches, and shared in the other part: this partition divided wealth among two classes of men, but in proportions so unequal, that, if it did not occasion a concentration similar to that which existed at Sparta, Athens, and Rome, it caused at least so great a disparity, that the people were again divided in three classes; one composed of slaves and bondmen, the second of small proprietors, and the third of the owners of large estates.

The bondmen, like the slaves of the

ancients, were condemned to labour for their masters, and had no more rank in the state than the slaves of Athens and Rome, and the Helotes of Sparta. The class doomed to this servitude, composed the inajor part of the people.

The small proprietors, much more numerous than the great land-owners, were indebted to the latter for their safety, and part of their means of subsistence; and in both respects resembled the Proletarians and the poorer citizens of Rome, and other ancient states.

The great land-owners, as they disposed of the bondmen and small proprietors, whom they attached to their fortune, or rendered dependent, defied public power, warred with each other, and regarded themselves as so many independent sovereigns. This anarchy, again, had evidently its source in the concentration of wealth; a concentration, the strength of which increased as the public power was enfeebled; its excess occasioned that general misery which every where provoked resistance, and finally delivered Europe from feudal oppression.

Again, therefore, does the history of this period impute the calamities of the times to the concentration of riches, and absolve wealth itself of the reproaches with which many philosophers have judged themselves authorized to load it.

But its moral and political effects, as soon as it circulated, with comparatively less obstacles, in every class and among all individuals, ought, in my opinion, to remove every doubt respecting the nature of wealth, and the estimation in which it is to be held.

From that period, which separates modern times from the middle age, wealth has been as productive of public and private prosperity, as it had been before of general and individual distress.

Produced by labour, it rendered men particularly attentive to the means of augmenting the productiveness of labour. They soon perceived that the free labourer who works for his profit multiplies the produce he consumes during his labour; while the slave or bondman scarcely replaces what he consumes. In proportion as this truth was diffused by experience the passion for wealth broke the fetters with which it had held mankind enslaved.

On the other hand, the free but poor class that till then had lived dependant on the great land-owners, being enriched by labour, shook off this dependence, afforded to the public power a force formerly

merly devoted to the private power of the great land-owners, conferred upon civil society a greater stability and extent, and gave it a stronger and more secure direction.

By being rendered more general the interests of the community were aggrandized, the commonwealth ceased to be a private concern, and actually became common. The interest of the hitherto oppressive and domineering rich was no longer an obstacle to good laws, a protecting government, and a public power capable of watching over and maintaining the rights and interests of all. The ideas of morality, justice, and humanity, which are effaced when poverty is oppressed by wealth, resumed their force, as soon as riches circulated in every rank of the community; the poor had no longer to dread the oppression of the rich, the laws guarded every private interest, and governments directed their attention to the interests of all.

As wealth diffused itself in every rank of the community, it consolidated for ever this beneficial revolution, by affording to every class the means of knowledge, instruction, and wisdom, formerly confined to the rich alone. Nations, as they grew more enlightened, became better acquainted with their own interests, and better disposed to perform every individual, domestic, and social duty. Knowledge exercised a re-action upon wealth, and imparted to it a power which rules alike individuals, associations, and empires.

The social compact, the constitution, the laws, and the institutions of every people, were gradually directed towards the maintenance, preservation, extension, and possession of those riches, which every one may acquire by labour, industry, and commerce.

Even in the foreign concerns of nations, and in their treaties with others, diplomacy had no other object in view than the preservation and extension of their respective riches.

Thus that passion for wealth, which had armed the nations of antiquity and the middle age, which had continually excited them to battles, rapine, destruction, and conquest, and filled up the measure of social calamities, enticed the moderns to labour, manufactures, and commerce, and inspired them with the love of peace and feelings of general benevolence and friendship. On this new road to wealth, individuals, communities, and empires, have found all the prosperity which

may reasonably be expected in civilized society.

Wealth, produced by labour, maintains, in eighteen-twentieths of the people, the strength, energy, and dexterity, with which man is endowed by nature, and developes, in the two remaining twentieths, those faculties of the mind which seem beyond the sphere of humanity, and bring men as it were nearer to the divine nature. Produced by labour, wealth banishes idleness, and the vices unavoidably connected with idleness; it renders man laborious, patient, sober, economical, and adorns him with those precious qualities, the sources of individual, domestic, and social virtues.

It binds the natives of the same land by the most powerful of all ties, mutual wants, reciprocal services, and the general consideration which they entail upon their country.

It restores man to his primitive dignity, through the sentiment of his independence, through his obedience to laws common to all, and his sharing in the benefits of society in proportion to his services.

It has rendered nations more powerful, because every individual member is interested in the success of national affairs, all bear their weight, and all share in the advantages which they procure. This community of good and evil, to which the circulation of wealth calls every individual of the nation, affords the greatest strength which the social compact possibly can or ever did produce. The conquering nations of antiquity and the middle age were acquainted with this stimulus, and employed it during their conquests; it constantly insured their success, but they neglected it after victory; they attached the rich alone to the interests of the community, and from that instant their power declined, and was shortly annihilated.

This stimulus is as active among industrious and commercial as among conquering nations, and its strength and intensity can never be impaired or lost. Whatever may be the stock of riches accumulated through labour, it impoverishes no one; on the contrary, it enriches every individual, it is the instrument of general wealth, it increases the mass of labour, and the sum of its produce, and consequently augments the resources of the laborious and the treasures of the rich.

Modern wealth affords yet another inestimable advantage to civil society; the more it is generally diffused, the more it renders



renders obedience light and easy, government strong and powerful, and public authority just and absolute. The rich man is every where the most submissive, the most disposed to obey the laws of his country, because he is sensible that to them he owes the preservation of his wealth. The poor man, on the contrary, obeys only by constraint and necessity, and consequently lives in a continual hostility against society. Had the science of statistics arrived to that degree of improvement which it is desirable that it should reach, the ratio of the security and power of governments might, by an algebraic calculation, be determined by the ratio of wealth and poverty; and political revolutions might be foretold with as much certainty as astronomers foretel the revolutions of the heavenly bodies.

Lastly, the effects of wealth, produced by labour, are felt alike by the nations that compose the great family of mankind, and by the individuals who compose each national family.

In this system man is no longer an obstacle to man, nations are no longer obstacles to nations. It is the interest of all to labour the one for the other, to interchange the respective produce of their labour, and to increase the domain of general wealth. The labour, industry, and commerce of every individual is useful to all, whatever portion of the globe they may inhabit; the more extensive agriculture of one country is beneficial to all laborious, manufacturing, and trading nations; it increases the produce destined for general consumption, which, in its turn, augments population; and this augmented population affords new consumers to the productions of the industry of every nation. Thus all nations share in the prosperity of each, and the portion of each is proportioned to its labour, manufactures, and commerce.

In vain do nations exert, fatigue, and exhaust themselves in military, diplomatic, and commercial combinations, to obtain, by cunning or force, a larger or smaller share of the general wealth. Their efforts are abortive; the distribution of wealth follows the ratio of labour, manufactures, and commerce; and, as these obey neither force nor cunning, and only yield to equivalents, blind ambition will necessarily at last be obliged to submit to their peaceable rule.

If the combinations of force are delusive and deceitful, and cannot be substituted for the toilsome and painful efforts of labour, manufactures, and commerce,

those of monopoly are neither wiser nor more beneficial. The charges of a monopoly absorb its profits, and monopolizing nations are actually impoverishing themselves whenever they want to turn the prosperity of other nations to their own particular advantage.

In short, to prevent wealth from flowing into the channels which labour, manufactures, and commerce, have dug for it, is impossible; and, if we deplore the blindness of the times when military force fancied it could extract treasures from the misery, indigence, and calamities of the world; the moment is not far distant when monarchs will acknowledge that there are no safe, legitimate, and honourable means to grow rich but through labour, manufactures, and commerce.

Let us therefore conclude, that wealth, in all ages and under all governments, exercised an absolute power over individuals, nations, and empires; and that, according as it was attempted by force, conquest, and devastation, or by labour and economy, its effects have been fatal or salutary to the human race. How greatly then have they erred, who thought they could apply to modern wealth the results and effects of the wealth of the nations of antiquity and the middle age! One is no more to be compared to the other than the offensive and defensive weapons of the ancients can be compared with those of the moderns, or their tactics with ours. Their wealth had its source in the impoverishment of nine-tenths of the people: modern wealth is derived from the riches of the whole population. The former enervated, effeminated, and depraved the rich, perverted and degraded the poor, and rendered them strangers to the community: the latter furnishes the rich with the means of knowledge and instruction, and enables them to direct labour, industry, and commerce: it insures to the less fortunate classes, and even to those who are the most needy, a portion of the general wealth, which portion is always proportion to the extent of that wealth. Thus the interest of the poor is never separated from the interest of the rich; they lend each other a mutual support.

The wealth of the ancients kept all nations in a permanent state of hostility, devastation, and servitude, and consequently held out a permanent obstacle to the general civilization and improvement of mankind. Modern wealth connects all nations, it binds them by common interests, causes them to forward the same

ends by the sentiment of their private interest, and associates them, in some degree, to the progress of the civilization and amelioration of the human race.

#### THE MERCANTILE SYSTEM.

The most ancient system concerning the sources of wealth derives wealth from foreign commerce; that is to say, from that commerce in which one nation sells more to other nations than it purchases, and is paid for the surplus of its sales over its purchases in precious metals. This doctrine was adopted without any limitation by the authors who first wrote upon Political Economy in England, Italy, and France, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and up to the middle of the eighteenth century; and, although it has been strenuously combated by later writers, it has yet prevailed and still prevails in the opinion of individuals, nations, and governments; all consider commerce as the true way to grow rich; and by commerce they all understand the exchange of commodities with foreign nations. An opinion so general, so ancient, so lasting, can neither be ascribed to blind prepossession nor to vain credulity, or foolish obstinacy. Time, which has destroyed so many errors, superstitions, and inveterate habits, almost coëval with the social state, would not have respected a doctrine contrary to private and public interest. What then has so long protected this doctrine against the outrages of time, the progress of knowledge, and the charm of innovations? Is it not its resting on the authority of facts, on the experience of ages, on every thing that is certain and evident among men? The conjecture is not improbable.

If we ascend ever so high in the history of wealth, we find that wealth always followed the direction of foreign commerce, and remained faithful to its banners and ships. During eight hundred years the commerce of the Phœnicians fixed wealth in the ports of Sidon and Tyre. In these celebrated cities it long bade defiance to the avarice of the greatest conquerors of the East; and, when the conquest and ruin of these industrious cities forced wealth to seek for a fresh asylum, it went over to the nations that inherited their commerce.

The Greek and Ionian cities, Alexandria, Marseilles, and Carthage, which gathered the wrecks of the trade of Sidon and Tyre, were not less celebrated for their wealth. Carthage in particular rose to the highest degree of splendour

and power, struggled successfully for a length of time against the fortune of the Romans, and delayed for more than a century the subjection of the other nations.

When the genius of Rome grounded on the ruins of Carthage the conquest of the world, the sources of wealth were dried up in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa, because these countries had no longer any commercial communication.

The treasures which had been accumulated at Rome by the plunder of all nations, did not prove a source of wealth for any country; they fertilized no lands, improved no kind of industry, and did not extend the bounds of civilization in any one respect. They were exhausted by purchasing the rich productions of Asia, appeasing the seditions of the cohorts, saving the empire from the successive depredations of the Barbarians, and satisfying their insatiable avidity. They vanished without leaving a vestige behind, and Rome, her provinces, and her tributary nations, differed only in the degree of misery and wretchedness.

During the eight centuries which followed the overthrow of the Western empire, under the rapid succession of Barbarians, who left nothing behind but the remembrance of their ferocity, rapacity, and devastations; during that long period of violence, anarchy, and crimes, the opulence of a few individuals condemned the whole population to general misery.

Constantinople, it is true, was the centre of an immense variety of political and commercial affairs: but the great extent of the empire, the majesty of a conquering nation surrounded by barbarous and rapacious neighbours, the magnitude of the tributes, the sums accumulated in the imperial exchequer, stifled that emulation, that activity and energy, for which commerce is distinguished, and through which it yields abundant riches. It may therefore truly be said, that, from the destruction of Carthage to an advanced period in the middle age, that is to say, for more than thirteen centuries, the sources of wealth were dried up throughout the Roman empire, and consequently throughout the whole then known world.

It was only in the twelfth century that these sources were again opened, and Europe was again indebted for wealth to foreign commerce.

Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Florence, though doomed to poverty by the barrenness



tenness or smallness of their territory, acquired yet great wealth by their commerce with the produce of the East and North. Not less powerful than Tyre, Sidon, and Carthage, they dictated laws to the Greek empire, bade defiance to the greatest monarchs, and balanced for more than three centuries the fate of Europe. Their grandeur declined with their wealth, which they imprudently sacrificed to expensive wars, to a fatal rivalry, and an unbounded ambition; it vanished for ever when unforeseen events turned aside the current of their trade, and reduced them to the resources of their territorial riches and local industry.

The numerous factories which these cities had established in the north of Europe, at Lubeck, Bremen, Hamburgh, Bruges, and Antwerp, created there new sources of wealth and prosperity. Towns hardly known before the introduction of foreign commerce, were soon distinguished for their wealth, splendor, and power. Wiser than the cities of Italy, they guarded against the dangers of rivalry, formed a confederacy for the protection and defence of their trade, and laid the foundations of the Hanseatic league, that monument of boldness and prudence in a barbarous age and among a rude people.

Strengthened by the accession of one hundred and sixty towns of Flanders and the Baltic, the Hanseatic league rapidly attained a great commercial and political prosperity: the wisdom of its conduct was equal to the wisdom of its institution; it opposed a salutary resistance to the progress of feudal anarchy, enlightened the people concerning their true interests, and caused the spirit of commerce, manufactures, and labour, to prevail over the spirit of murder, rapine, and devastation. The services which the Hanseatic league rendered to humanity in those barbarous times, are invaluable, and yet they scarcely occupy a few pages in the records of Europe; while many volumes are filled with the history of the crusades by which Europe was devastated, of the ambitious pretensions of the Pontiffs of Rome, by which she was disgraced, and of the quarrels of vassals and lords, by which she was oppressed and kept in servitude. Is it possible that the picture of public vices should be more attractive to mankind than the spectacle of public virtues? Or is there no other title to the remembrance, consideration, and veneration of men, than

the harm which is done to them? The Hanseatic league, that perfect paragon of a wise political association, only ceased to exist, when its existence was no longer necessary to the protection and safety of its commerce, and when the towns of which it was composed found, in the government of the countries in which they were situated, a full security of persons and property. By its generously confiding its interests to the care of all, the Hanseatic league left the world an honourable remembrance consoling to humanity.

The discovery of America and of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, the abundance of the precious metals which it caused to circulate in Europe, the general comforts, which were an obvious consequence of this discovery, every circumstance of this ever-memorable event confirmed the opinion respecting foreign commerce, and left no doubt about its being the true source of wealth.

But how does commerce enrich a country? By what channels does it pour its benefits? And how is the productiveness of commerce to be increased and its prosperity insured?

The majority of writers supposed, that foreign commerce enriches a country by the plenty of gold and silver which it causes to circulate; and governments, in conformity to this doctrine, endeavoured to retain the precious metals, or to invite them by encouraging national manufactures, by directly or indirectly prohibiting the produce of foreign industry, or by procuring to the produce of national industry, an easy and even privileged introduction into foreign countries. Such was, and such is still, some few modifications excepted, the system which places the source of wealth in foreign commerce; and which, on that account, is called the Mercantile System.

#### THEORIES.

Such are the various systems concerning the sources of wealth. Though they appear at variance, or, at least, offer different points of view, their difference is however merely nominal, and of very little importance to the science.

The partisans of the mercantile system, for instance, do not think, and have never asserted, that the precious metals which commerce accumulates in a country, are not derived from the produce of land, labour, and capitals; on the

the contrary, they uniformly take it for granted that it is so.

Again, the French economists, as founders of the agricultural system, though very positive in their doctrine, do not assert that the soil spontaneously yields wealth; on the contrary, they allow that, if land be the source of wealth, it is agriculture that multiplies it: and by agriculture they understand the labour and stock advances of the husbandman: they even admit that the exchangeable value of the agricultural produce is the measure of the wealth of a nation; and that this exchangeable value can only be obtained by the free concurrence of the home and foreign trade: thus the French economists themselves derive wealth from land, labour, capitals, and commerce.

By placing the source of wealth in labour, which fixes and realizes itself in some permanent object, Adam Smith also admits the concurrence and co-operation of land, labour, capitals, and commerce.

Lastly; the system of Lord Lauderdale differs from the other systems only as far as his lordship assigns a particular importance to capitals. In every other respect the noble author coincides more or less with the agricultural system and the system of labour.

Thus, after all, it is not properly concerning the sources of wealth that the different systems vary; they all come pretty nearly to the same conclusion on this important point; they all implicitly acknowledge that wealth is produced by the concurrence of labour, land, capitals, and commerce: they only differ respecting the more or less important share which they assign to each of these causes: in this only consists their contradiction, or their difference; it is herein lies all the difficulty of the science. The only problem which is actually to be resolved, is this:—Of those three causes, labour, capitals, and commerce; which is best calculated to produce public and private wealth?

#### LARGE AND SMALL FARMS.

The point is not yet decided, whether the division of agricultural labour is more profitable than its concentration; or, in other words, whether small or large farms are more advantageous to public wealth. Both opinions have numerous and illustrious defenders.

"There is no maxim of political economy more true," says Dr. Price, "than

this: the division of property increases population; the concentration of property reduces the small farmers to the condition of common day-labourers, and forces them to purchase in the market the corn they want for their subsistence. This manner of existence is more painful, the children become more burthensome, marriages less frequent, and population declines.

"When lands were divided among a greater number of owners, day-labour was dearer than at present (1772), when it is not four or five times dearer than in 1514, and when food, with regard to bread, is seven times, and, with regard to meat, fifteen times dearer.

"Whence it follows, that ever since the introduction of large farms, the maintenance of the husbandman is dearer, and his wages less; which circumstance has, of course, diminished that important class of the people."

Mr. Arthur Young, who has combated the opinion of Dr. Price, observes, that "it is not the number of people, but their wealth, which constitutes their power; and that population ought to be subordinate to agriculture, so that the abundance of produce should constantly precede the increase of population." Whence he infers, that "large farms, being more advantageous than small ones, ought to contribute more than small ones to the increase of population."

"A nation whose territory comprises thirty millions of acres of land proper for agriculture, with large, middling, and small farms, would give the following results:

Upon the plan of small farms, one million of farms, of thirty acres each, would require two millions of regular husbandmen and three millions of horses.

On the plan of middling farms, that country would have five hundred forty-five thousand farms of fifty-five acres each, one million six hundred thirty-five regular husbandmen, and two millions seven hundred twenty-five thousand horses.

On the plan of large farms, that country would have three hundred forty-one thousand farms of eighty-eight acres each, one million three hundred sixty-four thousand regular husbandmen, and two millions forty-six thousand horses.

"And, as the produce consumed by a horse may be reckoned equal in value to that consumed by a labourer for his food, the nation may be considered as having, in the system of small farms, five millions



of regular husbandmen; in the system of farms of the middle size, four millions three hundred and sixty thousand; and, in the system of large farms, three millions four hundred and ten thousand."

#### HOARDING THE PRECIOUS METALS.

Metallic currency is a mere instrument, proper to circulate the produce of labour, whatever this produce may be. Abstracted from this destination, or hoarded, it becomes like a merchandize that is not in commerce; and which, as long as it remains out of it, has no value or use for any one. It is as if it did not exist, as if it were still buried in the bowels of the earth.

Hoarding becomes of some importance only when it takes place in consequence of political causes or mal-administration, when the minds of men are uneasy about public affairs, or when their safety and property are threatened. In such cases, the hoarding may be so considerable, that capitals may not be easily or but partially circulated; that the distribution of part of the annual income of the nation may be paralyzed; that the returns of the advances on cultivation, of the wages of labour, and of the consumption of the different classes who exercise lucrative trades, may be impeded; and that the re-production of the revenue and taxes may be diminished. Instances of such hoarding are met with wherever government respects not persons and property, nor causes them to be respected; and in times of political commotions.

Political economy affords no remedies against this calamity.

As the interchange of the produce of labour is the source of wealth, whatever endangers the safety of individuals, the circulation of productions, the return and peaceable enjoyment of equivalents, causes the metallic currency to be eagerly sought for by all classes of the community, occasions its being hoarded, and opposes an insurmountable obstacle to that credit which might, to a certain degree, supply its place.

To import precious metals for the purpose of converting them into money, and thus replace the coin that has disappeared from circulation, can be done only at a great expence, and is not of material assistance. The operation can only be entrusted to merchants, who cannot perform it otherwise than by the exchange of national produce; but com-

merce is liable to all the chances which occasion the hoarding of coin. Nothing can induce merchants fearing for their property, to import precious metals, but the certain prospect of a considerable benefit which is to indemnify them for the risks to which they expose themselves, or afford them, in fraud and corruption, a guarantee which they find not either in the laws or in government. To complete the misfortune; when the newly imported precious metals are circulated in the shape of coin, they do not remain long in circulation; the same motives which caused the old coin to be hoarded, cause the new coin to disappear; the penury continues the same, and the scantiness of circulation dries up every source of wealth.

Against these inconveniences, the constant attendants of political commotions and bad governments, science loses its power, and all those measures, which political economy disavows, are but juggling tricks or miserable palliatives, which aggravate the evil and delay its cure, or render it impracticable.

#### CAPITALS OF INDIVIDUALS.

Capitals consist in the accumulation of the produce of labour. This accumulation is effected by economy in consumption. In proportion as this accumulation takes place, capitals divide and follow various destinations. Some are destined to produce a revenue, and are called fixed capitals: others are destined to maintain labourers and to furnish the materials of labour; these are called circulating capitals: others, lastly, are destined to be lent out at interest in public or private loans, and constitute a part of the circulating capital.

Of all these employments of capital, the most useful, the best calculated to enrich even an agricultural country, to increase its wealth, and to raise it to the highest degree of prosperity which it can attain, is that which is applied to manufactures and commerce, which gives motion and life to the mercantile system, and seconds its efforts, its combinations, and its speculations. But the more this employment is favourable to the progress of public wealth, the less is its utility to private wealth; and, the more it is productive of private wealth, the less it is beneficial to public wealth.

Governments, however, ought not to suppose that it is in their power to put an end to this opposition of interest. It is

is grounded in the nature of things: whatever governments may do, capitals always have a great value wherever national wealth declines, and they constantly lose their value in proportion to the increase of public wealth. All attempts to stem this irresistible tendency will ever prove unavailing; and the remedy will always be worse than the evil. The best thing enlightened and prudent governments can do under such circumstances, is to remove the accidental causes which may hasten the decline or impede the progress of national wealth. Their power goes no further. Above all, they ought never to forget that an error on this subject is much more fatal than in taxation, to which they give such serious attention. An error in taxation produces but partial evils, private misfortunes, and local inconveniencies. But an error in matters concerning capitals, affects the faculties of the community, attacks the principle of life in the body-politic, and paralyses the whole. May this important consideration enforce the utmost caution, and teach governments, that it is not always enough to wish to do good, that they ought also to know how good is to be effected, and that, in the present state of political economy with regard to capitals, the wisest administration is that which commits the fewest mistakes.

#### DEBASEMENT OF MONEY.

Independently of the losses which the alteration of money brings upon nations in their commercial dealings with other nations, its effects are not less disastrous in their interior, civil, and domestic, concerns.

1. It causes money to be hoarded, which obstructs payments, multiplies failures, impairs credit, diminishes and interrupts labour, reduces the labourers to misery, and occasions universal despair.\*

2. It alters the price of wages and of personal services, and the stipulations of contracts, deprives labourers, servants, pensioners, and creditors, of part of what is due to them, encourages bad faith, and inflicts a fatal blow to morals.

3. It deprives the sovereign of part of his revenue, forces him to disastrous measures, exposes the state and the subjects to violent commotions, and carries disorder and confusion into every department of civil society.

\* What a picture of England at this moment!

#### PROPORTION OF MONEY.

Another question is, whether there be a known and fixed proportion between money and the produce which it is to circulate, and, in case the existence of such a proportion should be doubted, whether the abundance of metallic money be beneficial, injurious, or indifferent to the progress of wealth.

Many celebrated writers on subjects connected with political economy have examined this question; but their opinions are mere conjectures, on which no positive doctrine can be grounded.

Sir William Petty thought that England required a quantity of money equal to half of the annual rent of her lands, to a fourth of the rent of dwelling-houses, to the weekly expences of the people, and to the value of a fourth of all commodities exported.

D'Avenant, who quotes the opinion of Sir William Petty, regards it as extremely well founded.

Cantillon thinks, that the money which circulates in the different countries of Europe is generally equal to at least half of the produce of the soil, and at the utmost to two thirds of that produce.

Montesquieu thinks, that the quantity of money is pretty nearly indifferent, because the rising or sinking of its value proportionates it to all wants.

"If we compare," say this illustrious author, "the mass of gold and silver which is in the world with the amount of existing merchandize, it is certain that every commodity or merchandize in particular may be compared to a certain portion of the whole mass of gold and silver. As the total amount of one is to the total amount of the other, so will be a portion of one to the portion of the other. Suppose there be but one commodity or merchandize in the world, or only one that is purchased, and that it be divided like metallic currency, that portion of merchandize will correspond to a portion of the metallic currency, half of the amount of one to half of the amount of the other, the tenth, the hundredth, the thousandth part of one to the tenth, the hundredth, the thousandth of the other; but, as that which constitutes the property of men is not all at once in trade, and as the metals or coins which are the representatives of that property are neither in trade all at the same time, prices will be fixed in the compound ratio of the totality of commodities to the totality of representative coins, and of the totality of commodities actually in trade to the totality of



of the representative coins actually current; and, as commodities which are not in trade to-day may be so to-morrow, and as the coin which is not in circulation to-day may return to it to-morrow, the fixing of the price of things is always chiefly dependent on the proportion of the total amount of commodities to the total amount of representative coin."

Adam Smith has neither adopted nor combated any opinion on this point. He contents himself with observing, that "what is the proportion which the circulating money of any country bears to the whole value of the annual produce circulated by means of it, it is, perhaps, impossible to determine. It has been computed by different authors at a fifth, at a tenth, at a twentieth, and at a thirtieth part of that value. But how small soever the proportion which the circulating money may bear to the whole value of the annual produce, as but a part, and frequently but a small part, of that produce, is ever destined for the maintenance of industry, it must always bear a very considerable proportion to that part."

From these various opinions it may be inferred with certainty, that the problem is not yet solved; and it ought, perhaps, to be considered as incapable of being solved, when we reflect that the circulation of commodities in an agricultural country is essentially different from that which takes place in a manufacturing country; that the circulation of a country which enjoys a great credit cannot be the same as that of a country whose credit is limited or circumscribed by the nature of its government or the imperfection of its legislation; and that a circulation mostly carried on with the assistance of well accredited banks has no resemblance to a circulation that derives no assistance from banks.

#### BANK OF VENICE.

The first bank that ever existed in Europe is that of Venice.

The republic, smarting under the burden of a war with the emperor of the East in 1171, and being also engaged in hostilities with the emperor of the West, the doge or duke Michel II. after having exhausted all financial resources, resorted to a forced loan borrowed from the wealthiest citizens. The creditors formed a board, which received the interest from government at the rate of four per cent., and divided it among its members in proportion to their contri-

bution. This board afterwards formed the bank of Venice, the principal operations of which consisted in paying all commercial bills of exchange.

In 1423, its revenue amounted to about two hundred thousand pounds sterling, and consisted chiefly in the interest paid by government. It is more than probable that it issued some paper-currency at that time for its operations. The fact, indeed, seems to be proved by the circumstance, that a law was passed ordering that all payments of bills of exchange, which had been made in paper, should in future be effected in specie, under a penalty of one hundred ducats, or forty-five pounds sterling.

Venice was at that time a manufacturing and staple town, and a place of great consumption.

The produce of its manufactures amounted to above twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling.

As a manufacturing town, and a place of great consumption, it was the interest of Venice to economize the use of metallic money, the cost of which increased its expences and diminished its profits, and to supply its place by bank paper.

As a staple-town, Venice wanted bank-paper for that portion of consigned commodities only which were appropriated to its consumption. With regard to the rest of the warehoused merchandize, which was to be conveyed to strangers, and which left only a commission to the Venician merchants, the use of metallic currency was very immaterial, because the finding of the sums thus employed, fell upon the foreign consumers. But, as consumption is stimulated by cheapness, and impeded by dearness, it was the interest of Venice, even as a staple-town, to economize the use of coin, because its cost was a dead loss to the consumer, and obstructed consumption.

Thus, in the triple capacity of a manufacturing town, of a staple-town, and of a place of great consumption, it was the interest of Venice, that its commercial payments should be made in bank-paper.

But the wars in which the government of Venice was engaged with the Albanese, and the dukes of Milan, occasioned considerable expences which could not be discharged otherwise than in metallic money. Commerce had not made sufficient progress, its resources were not sufficiently extensive, to relieve the wants of government and economize its expences; and, as government considered payments

payments in bank-paper as causing coin to disappear from circulation, or at least as rendering it more scarce, and making government purchase it at a higher price, it thought it had attained its end by ordering payments to be made in specie. Thus the interests of commerce often appear in opposition to the well or ill understood interests of government, and are sacrificed to it without any scruple.

Whether this measure of the government of Venice induced the bank to cease paying in bank-paper, and to make its payments by transfers in its books, I do not know. But, according to Macpherson, the payments of the bank of Venice are made by mere transfers in its books.

#### BANK OF GENOA.

The bank of Genoa, which was founded in 1407, and which owed its existence to the causes that had produced the bank of Venice, was formed upon the same model.

The foreign and civil wars with which that republic was continually afflicted, forced its government to resort to loans bearing interest, the payment of which was provided for by certain demesnes, and the administration of these demesnes entrusted to a company of eight individuals, chosen from among the state creditors. Their association constituted the Bank of St. George.

As the wants of the republic increased in proportion as its power declined, government continued to borrow of the Bank of St. George, and to assign a larger revenue to it; government even made over to the bank the property of several demesnes and important places, the administration of which was entrusted to a council of one hundred individuals, chosen among the holders of bank-stock.

The historiographer of the republic of Genoa, notices it as a circumstance worthy of admiration, that during the various changes to which the republic was exposed, and even when it passed under a foreign dominion, the government of the bank experienced no change: but what change could a banking company experience, that confined itself to manage the common stock, collect its revenue, and distribute it to the parties concerned? The utmost that could be apprehended was infidelity, or negligence in the management; and even this danger was sufficiently removed by the interested superintendence of a council com-

posed of one hundred individuals. What is most to be wondered at is, that the republic, in the midst of its distresses and political troubles, never touched the property of the bank. A proposal of that tendency was made after the bombardment of Genoa, in 1684: but it was rejected, because to touch the money of the bank appeared too dangerous. It would, indeed, have been extremely dangerous, since there is every reason to suppose that the greatest part of the nation were interested in the safety of the property of the bank.

Moreover, I have not been able to discover what were the relations of the bank of Genoa to commerce; whether its transactions consisted in transfers in its books, or in payments in bank paper.

Confined to its primitive object of a chest, from which government might borrow, the Bank of St. George is an excellent institution for public credit; it were to be wished that it had been imitated by the great powers of Europe, when they had recourse to loans. With the assistance of such a bank they would have avoided that confusion in their finances, which always proved so fatal to public credit, so injurious to the honour of governments, and so detrimental to the prosperity of empires.

#### BANK OF AMSTERDAM.

The bank of Amsterdam was established in 1609, on the model of that of Venice; and it must be acknowledged to have been well adapted to the situation of that city, similar in almost every respect to that of Venice.

Like Venice, Amsterdam was then a staple-town, a perpetual fair, a market constantly open for the exchange of the produce of all climes, and of the industry of all nations. The sales and purchases of the productions of all countries, were reciprocally paid by the intervention of the Amsterdam merchants, and the particular commerce of each state had only the balance of its trade to receive or to pay.

Had the merchants of Amsterdam always traded on their own account, like those of Lyons, and had they been able to fix the same term to their engagements, they might, like the Lyonese, have carried on their trade by simply exchanging the documents of their respective debts, as Lyons did for its own private trade.

But the immense extent of the payments which the merchants of Amsterdam



dam had to make, would not allow their being effected by reciprocal changes of debts and demands, at certain fixed times. Payments must be made daily, because they were daily wanted; and, in this respect, the bank of Venice suited Amsterdam better than a liquidation by the exchange of debts and demands, as used at Lyons.

By the charter of its foundation, the bank of Amsterdam was authorized to receive the deposit of any sum of money above three hundred gilders; and to pay all bills of exchange exceeding that sum by transfers in its books. The sums deposited were declared safe against any attachment; the city of Amsterdam guaranteed their safety, and engaged to represent them. The amount of these deposits has been estimated very high by some authors, and rather low by others. D'Avenant estimated them to amount to thirty-six millions sterling; Adam Smith calculates them to amount only to about three millions sterling, or, at eleven gilders the pound sterling, thirty-three millions of gilders.

Adam Smith was convinced, that the deposits in the bank of Amsterdam had been faithfully respected. But a modern English author pretends, that, when the French took possession of Holland, it was discovered that the bank had lent part of its deposits to the city of Amsterdam, and to the ancient government of Holland; but he does not quote the authority on which he grounds his assertion.

The bank of Rotterdam, created in 1635, was also founded upon the model of that of Amsterdam.

So was the bank of Hamburgh in 1688.

#### BANK OF ENGLAND.

The Bank of England lost its way on its very outset. Instead of devoting itself to the commercial credit of which the banks of Amsterdam and Hamburgh had so ably laid the foundation, it endeavoured to revive public credit, and lent government the money which its shares had produced. The first operation of the bank confounded the commercial with the public credit, though they are essentially different; as will be seen hereafter. This confusion caused the bank to languish for sixteen years. Its credit experienced the fate of public credit, its notes were at a discount of 20 per cent., and it was only through the constant protection of parliament, and through a

very uncommon perseverance, that the Bank of England was finally established on a solid foundation.

The charter of the bank made it a corporation, and granted it the exclusive privilege of banking as a joint-stock company. Subsequent statutes allowed the bank to lend money on pledges, and to deal in gold and silver bullion.

These grants shew, that the founders of the bank, and the parliament of England, had not very correct notions of the nature and object of banks of circulation; and this becomes evident, when we consider that the bank, even when it was in the greatest distress, advanced to government all the money it could procure, either by creating new shares, or through private loans. In its commencement the bank was, and could not be considered otherwise than, a chest for government to borrow from, or a lombard (lumber-office) totally unconnected with commercial credit.

But, if the bank mistook at first the career which it had to run with so much glory, it was not long ere it discovered its error, and wisely promoted the object which it was to accomplish. Without ceasing to be faithful to its engagements with the public creditor, from which it could not separate itself on account of the sums advanced to government, the bank leaned more towards commercial credit, and perceived that all its efforts ought to be directed to circulate commercial bills without the intervention of metallic money.

It was a difficult problem for the bank to solve, since it could only offer its own credit guaranteed by the capitals which it had in the public funds; a guarantee already discredited in public opinion by the discredit of the funds, and perfectly novel and unknown in money concerns. The banks that had preceded the Bank of England, had all effected their payments in real coin, equal and even superior to the standard of the common metallic currency. How should the bank be able to deviate from the customary method which had become a generally adopted rule? This consideration did not stop the bank-directors. They dared to open a new path; they created bank-notes convertible into specie at the pleasure of the holder, and used them in all their payments. The promise to pay in coin at the pleasure of the holder was obviously and notoriously illusory; and both the bank and the public knew perfectly well that it could not be realized:

for there was not, and there could not be, any other coin in the coffers of the bank but what was received as interest of the public debt, and its amount bore no proportion to its notes.

Bank-notes were, however, received in circulation, and, though at a discount for a considerable length of time, they yet recovered their value in proportion as the services which they rendered to circulation became better known, as their nature was better appreciated, and the circumstance clearly understood, that the basis of their credit rested less on the primitive capital of the bank than on the equivalent commercial bills of which they effected the payment. Thus the Bank of England notes owed their success to the same principles which cause the commercial credit of all countries to prosper and flourish; that is, to an entire confidence in the good faith and probity of the individuals engaged in commerce.

The successful attempt of the Bank of England led to the discovery of one of the properties of banks, which had not yet been and which could not have been suspected as long as banks had made use in their operations of real coin of a standard superior to the common metallic currency. Till that time it had been, and must have been, supposed that the services and successes of banks were due to their monied capitals. On a more close inspection, however, it would have been perceived that those capitals bore no proportion to the operations of banks, and that the ability, good faith, and fidelity of the directors and agents of such banks, are their true support in both cases: it would have been seen that bank-money is but an instrument to liquidate commercial debts, and that of course it matters little whether it be of gold and silver or of paper.

It has already been observed, that the transfers of the money deposited in the bank of Amsterdam liquidated, without displacing any money, the totality of the commercial transactions of that city, and that by means of these transfers as many payments were effected in one hour as could be performed in metallic currency in one day. I ought to add, that the rapidity of this mode of payment required a smaller quantity of money than any other method would have required; and it is probable that, with the deposit of a single million, as many payments were effected as with twenty millions in metallic currency. This singular phenome-

non could undoubtedly not be attributed to money only; it was owing to other causes; and that such was the fact could no longer be doubted, when it was perceived that the notes of the Bank of England produced the same effects as the transfers of the Bank of Amsterdam.

Experience having once established this property of bank-paper, the Bank of England conformed its further operations to it, and employed it with equal success in liquidating and extinguishing commercial demands by the debts of commerce, public expences by the public revenue, and a great part of private expences by a great portion of private income. In short, with the help of its notes, the Bank of England liquidated all the commercial transactions of the London merchants at home and abroad; all the engagements of government with its functionaries, agents, and contractors; and all the transactions of opulent private individuals with their tradesmen, servants, and labourers.

Banks of circulation have to fear lest the merchants, whose bills they discount, should abuse their facility for the purpose of extending their speculations beyond due bounds, and pile in their warehouses a larger stock of commodities than what ordinary consumption requires.\* The longer or shorter continuance of such a glut may force the merchants to exchange the bank-notes for coin, in a proportion superior to what the banks receive. If a bank, in such a case, has not in its coffers a sufficient stock of metallic currency to meet such an exigency, its embarrassment aggravates the crisis, and it is again forced to suspend its payments, and to wait till the equilibrium between consumption and the stock on hand be re-established.

Notwithstanding these imminent and fatal risks, banks of circulation have been introduced into almost all countries of Europe, and their present advantages have got the better of distant fears.

#### KINDS OF TRADE.

Whether the home or the foreign trade is most beneficial to national wealth, is

\* No person can estimate the mischiefs of the system of discounting *sham* bills of wholesale dealers and speculators, unless he resides in the city of London!—We are now paying an extra 10l. per month for the paper of this Magazine, owing to the operation of artificial capital raised on accommodation bills by dealers in rags and paper.—*EDITOR.*



one of the most important, most difficult, and most controverted questions of political economy.

"Prudence," says D'Avenant, "is generally wrong when it pretends to guide nature. The various products of different soils and countries is an indication that Providence intended they should be helpful to each other and mutually supply the necessities of one another."

The benefit of trade does not consist in the profit of the home-merchant, but in the clear gain the nation acquires through the exchange of its raw and manufactured produce for the produce of other countries.

Sir James Stuart observes, that "when foreign trade ceases the internal mass of wealth cannot be augmented."

"A nation," says Forbonnais, "gains the amount of its sales to foreigners, and loses the amount of the purchases it makes abroad."

"As foreign trade is carried on with benefit," observes Beccaria, "that is, as it receives a greater quantity of values it serves as a more powerful incentive, and is more efficacious to increase the sum of productions. Besides, it burthens the subjects of other countries with a considerable part of the taxes paid to the state."

Dr. Quesnay is the first who attempted to combat that system. "In a free concurrence of foreign trade," says he, "there is but an exchange of equal value for equal value, without either loss or gain on either side, and a nation cannot have a more advantageous commerce than its home-trade."

Elsewhere he adds, "it would be necessary first to enrich the foreign purchasers, to extend the sale of your manufactured produce abroad, and to enrich yourselves in your turn by this trade at the expence of foreigners, &c. Foreign trade is but a last resource to nations, for which their home-trade is not sufficient profitably to dispose of the productions of their country."

Adam Smith has, like Dr. Quesnay, combated the system favourable to foreign trade, and extolled the home-trade as the most beneficial to national wealth; but his opinion has been influenced by motives not only different but even opposed to those of Dr. Quesnay.

"That trade," observes Adam Smith, "which, without force or constraint, is naturally and regularly carried on between any two places, is always advantageous, though not always equally so to both. By

advantage or gain," he adds, "I understand, not the increase of the quantity of gold and silver, but that of the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, or the increase of the annual revenue of its inhabitants."

When the produce of national labour is consumed in the country, its consumption is not very active, because, as Montesquieu observes, people of the same climate have nearly the same productions, and find in them none but common and ordinary enjoyments: consumption never goes beyond their wants, because the productions are not capable of exciting their desires, gratifying their sensuality, or flattering their vanity.

When, on the contrary, the produce of national labour is consumed abroad, the returns, which consist of new, various, and more abundant productions, are generally sought after, their consumption is rapid, labour and industry redouble their efforts to procure them, and both private and public wealth make an astonishing progress.

Moreover the returns for the exported produce are always more considerable than that produce; that is, the foreign country gives a greater quantity of produce than it receives, and this surplus consequently increases the capital destined for the support of national wealth. The characteristic of foreign commerce is to offer to all nations the produce which suits them best, and consequently to make them pay dearer for it than what it is worth in the place where it is produced. Hence it follows, that foreign commerce affords every nation sure means of selling dear the produce of its own labour, and purchasing cheap the produce of foreign labour.

Thus it appears certain, that foreign trade is more favourable to private and public wealth than the home trade. Nations ought, therefore, studiously to exert themselves to place foreign trade on a solid and immovable basis, and eagerly seek for the means best calculated to raise it to the highest pitch of perfection.

#### OF MODERN COLONIES.

Modern colonies, in whatever light they may be viewed, have nothing common with the colonies of the ancients but the name.

Modern colonies have a totally different object. They are an extension of the territory of the mother country, the means of increasing its population, wealth,

wealth, and power; and they accomplish this important end by the fertility of their soil, and the variety and novelty of their productions, which render them universally desirable, and, above all, by their abundance and cheapness, which place them within the reach of every one.

Brought into the market of Europe, these productions afforded a new equivalent to the produce of its soil and industry, raised its price, and necessarily augmented its production. They therefore increased the wealth of Europe, not only with their own value, but also with the value of all the commodities which they caused to be produced to serve as their equivalent. The results of this double improvement are incalculable.

#### EXCHANGES AND BALANCE OF TRADE.

Although the balance of trade cannot give the exact results of the circulation of the produce of every country, it may be of service to judge of its acceleration or obstruction, to lead an attentive and enlightened observer to discover the causes of either, and to suggest the means which may prevent its impediments and increase its beneficial effects. I therefore think the balance of exports and imports of great importance; it may afford much valuable information concerning the progressive, stationary, or retrograde state of national wealth.

The subject of exchanges is more involved in obscurity and fallacy, than the balance of trade.

Adam Smith has so clearly discussed this matter, that I cannot do better than quote what he states on the subject.

"When," says he, "the exchange between two places, such as London and Paris, is at par, it is said to be a sign that the debts due from London to Paris are compensated by those due from Paris to London. On the contrary, when a premium is paid at London for a bill upon Paris, it is said to be a sign that the debts due from London to Paris are not compensated by those due from Paris to London; but that a balance in money must be sent out from the latter place, for the risk, trouble, and expence of exporting which, the premium is both demanded and given.

"But several causes destroy this consequence.

"1. We cannot always judge of the value of the current money of different

countries by the standard of their respective mints.

"2. In some countries, the expence of coinage is defrayed by the government; in others, it is defrayed by the private people, who carry their bullion to the mint; and the government even derives some revenue from the coinage.

"3. In some places, as at Amsterdam, Hamburgh, Venice, &c. foreign bills of exchange are paid in what they call bank-money; while in others, as at London, Lisbon, Antwerp, Leghorn, &c. they are paid in the common currency of the country.

"4. The ordinary state of debt and credit between any two places is not always entirely regulated by the ordinary course of their dealings with one another; but is often influenced by that of the dealings of either with many other places."

In whatever light, therefore, the rate of exchanges may be viewed, it is evident that it gives but fallacious indications of the state of foreign commerce.

#### RATE OF INTEREST.

A high rate of interest is not always a proof of the declining wealth of a country; on the contrary, it is a proof of its prosperity when this prosperity is progressive. The interest of money must always be very high in countries whose prosperity is progressive, because its agriculture and manufactures, increasing with its population, are always requiring fresh capitals, the demand for which necessarily keeps the rate of interest very high.

A low rate of interest may likewise not be an infallible sign of the wealth of a country being progressive. "A low rate of interest," says Swift, "the usual sign of the wealth of a state, may also be a sign of misery, when no one, for instance, wants to borrow, because there is neither industry nor commerce in the country."

#### CIRCULATION.

The circulation of the produce of labour effected by commerce has its principle in the passion for enjoyment, which men gratify by interchanging the produce of their labour, industry, talents, knowledge, and genius. This circulation is more productive in proportion as it is less confined, more extensive, and more general. When it extends only from the country to the neighbouring towns, and from



from the towns to the country, it is slow, weak, and languid, because the produce which it offers to the consumers is calculated only for the most ordinary wants of life. It gains in animation, activity, and usefulness, when it pervades every district, every town, every city, and the metropolis of every country, because it then circulates productions more numerous, more various, better calculated for the conveniency, comforts, and peculiar enjoyments of every country. It attains the highest pitch of grandeur and power, when in its course it embraces all climates, all countries, and all nations, because it then distributes to every consumer the produce of all soils, the productions of all kinds of industry, all the riches of nature and labour, and excites every desire, flatters every taste, and gratifies every caprice and every fancy.

The different methods of circulating the produce of labour, such as corporations and privileged companies, the monopoly of colonial commerce, exclusive commercial treaties, and every combination that has been contrived to give another direction to the course of commerce, when it is supposed unfavorable or less beneficial, or to enlarge it when supposed to be favorable, are as many obstacles which restrict and shackle the progress of commerce, and are equally fatal to public and private wealth.

In short, nations ought never to forget that the circulation of the produce of labour is always beneficial, and that the only way to reap all its benefits is to render commerce safe, free, easy, and general.

#### NATIONAL INCOME.

Adam Smith discovered these laws in the very nature of things.

He states, that the distribution of the national income is naturally regulated by the progressive, stationary, or retrograde state of national wealth. When wealth is progressive, more produce of the annual labour is distributed in wages of labour, profit of stock, and rent of land. When wealth is stationary, a smaller quantity of that produce goes to the labourers as wages, and to the land-holders as rent; and the profit of stock remains as before. When wealth is retrograde, the wages of labour sink so low that they are scarcely adequate to supply the most urgent wants of the labourers; rents also suffer a considerable diminution; but the profits of stock experience, on the contrary, a rise corresponding with the

decline of national wealth. Not to be struck with the justness and truth of these laws, and to withhold a tribute of praise and admiration from the mind that discovered them, is equally impossible.

To these general and fundamental rules of the distribution of the produce of annual labour, Adam Smith has added some particular ones for the wages of different labours, the profit of different capitals, and the rents of every different kind of soil.

Thus the public and private income consist of the annual produce which is distributed in the shape of wages of labour, profits of stock, and rents of land; and this distribution is regulated by the progressive, stationary, or retrograde state of national wealth. The observation of these laws is of the utmost importance to the progress of wealth, and forms one of the fundamental principles of political economy.

#### PUBLIC REVENUE.

The revenue of governments generally consists of contributions levied upon individuals. If, either from a love of luxury and magnificence, or from the passion of conquests, or from a bad economical system, or from a vicious administration, these contributions are raised to an excessive height, the efforts of the individual members of the nation, to repair by their labour and economy the evil of an excessive expenditure of government, must prove abortive. If this expenditure, coupled with that of the individual members of the nation, exceeds the annual produce of the national labour, the aggregate of the nation is placed in the same predicament as an individual who spends more than his income. Capitals are swallowed up, labour is left to pine, its produce is diminished, population reduced, and the impoverished nation declines, and is perhaps exhausted to such a degree, that it is no longer ranked among free and independent powers.

Individuals and nations cannot possibly consume more than their income without exposing themselves to certain ruin; they ought not even to consume as much as their income. Whenever they do so, their condition becomes precarious, and national wealth is endangered by the many accidents of life, national calamities, and all the evils which are continually assailing the human race. Every national calamity inflicts an injury upon capital, affects labour, diminishes its produce,

produce, impoverishes the nation, and, in proportion as it is serious and lasting, influences its power and the grandeur of its destinies.

Individuals and nations enjoy a solid and permanent prosperity only when private and public consumption does not absorb the general income; when the surplus produce, that is annually accumulated, is not diverted from its destination by the political constitution of the country, or the economical and administrative measures of government, nor concentrated in some favored classes, or among a few privileged men; when, being left to the individual by whom it has been saved, it augments the sum of labour, raises the wages of labourers, increases population, develops industry, multiplies wealth, and places public power on the immovable basis of population and wealth.

#### LABOUR FOR AMUSEMENT.

Far from restraining the development of the labours calculated for amusement, they ought to be favoured, encouraged, rewarded; because this is the only way of giving them the greatest intensity, of increasing the population of the country, carrying wealth to the highest pitch, and attaining the highest degree of power to which civilized societies can arrive. It is a delusion to suppose that labours, calculated to amuse, ought only to be maintained by the surplus of other labours; they would not exist, if they were to wait for that tardy and uncertain event; they ought to precede, to produce this surplus, and use it to reproduce it and increase its force. Useful labours would stop at the produce necessary for their support, if they were not stimulated by amusements; and it is only by striving to obtain that surplus of labour to which amusements give birth, that nations can arrive at opulence.

#### NATURE OF COMMERCE.

Commerce undoubtedly owes its existence to the interchange of the produce which the producers will not or cannot consume: but this interchange is only effected by commerce, by the capital, the talents, and the genius of merchants. Commerce is not only the instrument of the interchange of commodities; it is its promoter, its instigator, and frequently its sole cause. It is by constantly exhibiting to all producers fresh enjoyments, by exciting their desires, flattering their

taste, or gratifying their appetite, that commerce stimulates them to labour, develops their industry, keeps them in continual activity, and forces them as it were to augment the mass of their productions, and to give them infinite variety and the highest degree of perfection. Far from being the mere instrument of productive labours, and entitled to rank only after them, commerce is the agent of general production, diffuses its benefits by the equivalents which it affords to every producer in exchange for his produce, and deserves to be considered as the most bountiful source of public and private wealth.

It matters little whether the interchange be more favourable to one of the parties than to the other; they both recover, in the equivalent which they receive, whatever the equivalent they give cost them. Were it not for this condition, the interchange would not take place at all, or would soon cease. The interchange between fellow-subjects, as well as between natives and foreigners, can never be detrimental to any one; and the least favourable exchange still yields an agreeable commodity for one that is not so: it is therefore the interest of all nations to protect, to encourage, to favour commerce. It keeps the mass of wealth up even when it does not augment it; and it prevents the decline of national wealth, even when it cannot effect its increase. The obstructions, restraints, and prohibitions, to which commerce has almost always been exposed, with the view to save it from the losses that were apprehended, or to obtain greater benefits from it, are false measures, fatal alike to public and private wealth.

Commerce, however, cannot pervade the whole range of exchanges but by means of an equivalent which suits every one, and which every one prefers to the produce he wishes to exchange. A gold and silver currency is eminently possessed of this prerogative, and it owes it neither to the conventional agreement of mankind nor to the authority of governments, but simply to the valuable qualities of the metals of which it is composed: no other value can supply the place of a metallic currency, because no other commodity possesses the properties which money requires.

When the monetary equivalent is of gold and silver, when its numeric or nominal value approximates as near as possible its commercial value, and when it



its divisions are in an exact proportion, all the operations of commercial interchange are easy and safe, and commerce may securely indulge in its combinations, speculations, and enterprises.

## TRAVELS

IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES

Of EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA.

BY EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, LL.D.

PART THE SECOND.

*Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land,*

SECTION THE FIRST.

[In our last Supplement we afforded an exquisite treat to our readers in our copious extracts from the Classical Travels of Chateaubriand, a literary Frenchman; and we have now the satisfaction of affording them a similar mental feast from the interesting Travels of Dr. CLARKE, a literary and philosophical Englishman. In every sense these travels afford a perfect specimen of this branch of literature. The information is full and satisfactory; the mind of the author is free from bigotry or prejudice; his descriptions are vivid and carry his readers to the spot; and he possesses the necessary stock of knowledge to qualify him to treat with skill and discrimination the various topics of observation. We have no hesitation, therefore, in declaring that this work is excelled in the various requisites of Books of Travels, neither by Pocock, Bruce, Addison, Smollet, Moore, Coxe, or Staunton, nor by any other writer in our language; and it is in consequence a valuable addition to the stock of standard literature. The volume from which these extracts are made is the second of a series of three, in which the author proposes to comprize his interesting travels; he has, however, called this the first section of the second part, which is to include GREECE, EGYPT, and THE HOLY LAND.]

### ASPECT OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The literary traveller, visiting Constantinople, expects to behold but faint vestiges of the imperial city, and believes that he shall find little to remind him of "the everlasting foundations" of the master of the Roman world; the opinion, however, may be as erroneous as that upon which it was founded. After the imagination has been dazzled with pompous and glaring descriptions of palaces and baths, porticoes and temples, groves, circuses, and gardens, the plain matter of fact may prove, that in the obscure

and dirty lanes of Constantinople; its small and unglazed shops; the style of architecture observed in the dwellings; the long covered walks, now serving as bazars; the loose flowing habits with long sleeves, worn by the natives; even in the practice of concealing the features of the women; and, above all, in the remarkable ceremonies and observances of the public baths; we behold those customs and appearances which characterized the cities of the Greeks. Such, at least, as far as inanimate bodies are concerned, is the picture presented by the interesting ruins of Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae. With regard to the costume of its inhabitants, we have only to view the dresses worn by Greeks themselves, as they are frequently represented upon the gems and coins of the country, as well as those used in much earlier ages. There is every reason to believe that the Turks themselves, at the conquest of Constantinople, adopted many of the customs, and embraced the refinements of a people they had subdued.

Every thing is exaggerated that has been said of the riches and magnificence of this city. Its inhabitants are ages behind the rest of the world. The apartments in their houses are always small. The use of coloured glass in the windows of the mosques, and in some of the palaces, is of very remote date; it was introduced into England, with other refinements, by the Crusaders; and perhaps we may attribute to the same people the style of building observed in many of our most antient dwelling-houses; where, in the diminutive panneling of the wainscot, and the form of the windows, an evident similarity appears to what is common in Turkey. The khans for the bankers seem to rank next to the mosques, among the public edifices of any note. The *Ménagerie* shewn to strangers is the most filthy hole in Europe, and chiefly tenanted by rats. The pomp of a Turk may be said to consist in his pipe and his horse; the first will cost from twenty to twenty thousand piastres. That of the Capudan Pacha had a spiral ornament of diamonds from one end to the other; and it was six feet in length. Coffee-cups are adorned in the same costly manner. A saddle-cloth embroidered and covered with jewels, stirrups of silver, and other rich trappings, are used by their grandees to adorn their horses. The boasted illuminations of the *Ramadan* would scarcely be perceived if they were not pointed out.

out. The suburbs of London are more brilliant every night in the year.

#### THE SULTANAS.

It so happened, that the gardener of the Grand Signior, during our residence in Constantinople, was a German. This person used to mix with the society in Pera, and often joined in the evening parties given by the different foreign ministers. In this manner we became acquainted with him; and were invited to his apartments within the walls of the Seraglio, close to the gates of the Sultan's garden. We were accompanied, during our first visit, by his intimate friend, the secretary and chaplain of the Swedish mission; who, but a short time before, had succeeded in obtaining a sight of the four principal Sultanas and the Sultan Mother, in consequence of his frequent visits to the gardener. They were sitting together one morning, when the cries of the black eunuchs, opening the doors of the Charem, which communicated with the Seraglio gardens, announced that these ladies were going to take the air. In order to do this, it was necessary to pass the gates adjoining the gardener's lodge, where an *arabat* was stationed to receive them, in which it was usual for them to drive round the walks of the Seraglio, within the walls of the palace. Upon those occasions the black eunuchs examine every part of the garden, and run before the women, calling out to all persons to avoid approaching or beholding them under pain of death. The gardener, and his friend the Swede, instantly closed all the shutters, and locked the doors. The black eunuchs, arriving soon after, and finding the lodge shut, supposed the gardener to be absent. Presently followed the Sultan Mother, with the four principal Sultanas, who were in high glee, romping and laughing with each other. A small scullery window of the gardener's lodge looked directly towards the gate through which these ladies were to pass, and was separated from it only by a few yards. Here, through two small gimlet holes, bored for the purpose, they beheld very distinctly the features of the women, whom they described as possessing extraordinary beauty. Three of the four were Georgians, having dark complexions and very long dark hair; but the fourth was remarkably fair, and her hair, also of singular length and thickness, was of a flaxen colour; neither were their teeth dyed black, as those of Turkish women generally are.

The Swedish gentleman said, he was almost sure they suspected they were seen, from the address they manifested in displaying their charms, and in loitering at the gate. This gave him and his friend no small degree of terror; as they would have paid for their curiosity with their lives, if any such suspicion had entered the minds of the black eunuchs. He described their dresses as rich beyond all that can be imagined. Long spankled robes, open in front, with pantaloons embroidered in gold and silver, and covered by a profusion of pearls and precious stones, displayed their persons to great advantage; but were so heavy as actually to encumber their motion, and almost to impede their walking. Their hair hung in loose and very thick tresses, on each side their cheeks, falling quite down to the waist, and covering their shoulders behind. Those tresses were quite powdered with diamonds, not displayed according to any studied arrangement, but as if carelessly scattered, by handfuls, among their flowing locks. On the top of their heads, and rather leaning to one side, they wore, each of them, a small circular patch or diadem. Their faces, necks, and even their breasts, were quite exposed; not one of them having any veil.

#### THE SERAGLIO.

We left Pera, in a gondola, about seven o'clock in the morning; embarking at Tophana, and steering towards that gate of the Seraglio which faces the Bosphorus on the south-eastern side, where the entrance to the Seraglio gardens and the gardener's lodge are situated. A Bostanghy, as a sort of porter, is usually seated, with his attendants, within the portal. Upon entering the Seraglio the spectator is struck by a wild and confused assemblage of great and interesting objects: among the first of these are, enormous cypresses, massive and lofty masonry, neglected and broken sarcophagi, high rising mounds, and a long gloomy avenue, leading from the gates of the garden between the double walls of the Seraglio. This gate is the same by which the Sultanas came out for the airing before alluded to; and the gardener's lodge is on the right hand of it. The avenue extending from it, towards the west, offers a broad and beautiful, although solitary, walk, to a very considerable extent, shut in by high walls on both sides. Directly opposite this entrance of the Seraglio is a very lofty mound, or bank, covered



vered by large trees, and traversed by terraces, over which, on the top, are walls with turrets. On the right hand, after entering, are the large wooden folding doors of the Grand Signior's gardens; and near them lie many fragments of antient marbles, appropriated to the vilest purposes: among others, a sarcophagus of one block of marble, covered with a simple, though unmeaning, bas-relief. Entering the gardens by the folding doors, a pleasing *coup d'œil* of trellis-work and covered walks is displayed, more after the taste of Holland than that of any other country. Various and very despicable *jets d'eau*, straight gravel-walks, and borders disposed in parallelograms, with the exception of a long green-house filled with orange-trees, compose all that appears in the small spot which bears the name of the Seraglio Gardens. The view, on entering, is down the principal gravel-walk; and all the walks meet at a central point, beneath a dome of the same trellis-work by which they are covered. Small fountains spout a few quarts of water into large shells, or form parachutes over lighted bougies, by the sides of the walks. The trellis-work is of wood, painted white, and covered by jasmine; and this, as it does not conceal the artificial frame by which it is supported, produces a wretched effect. On the outside of the trellis-work appear small parterres, edged with box, containing very common flowers, and adorned with fountains. On the right hand, after entering the garden, appears the magnificent kiosk, which constitutes the sultan's summer residence; and further on is the orangery before mentioned, occupying the whole extent of the wall on that side.

Exactly opposite to the garden gates, is the door of the *Charem*, or palace of the women belonging to the Grand Signior; a building not unlike one of the small colleges in Cambridge, and inclosing the same sort of cloistered court. One side of this building extends across the upper extremity of the garden, so that the windows look into it. Below these windows are two small green-houses, filled with very common plants, and a number of Canary birds. Before the *Charem* windows, on the right hand, is a ponderous, gloomy, wooden door; and this, creaking on its massive hinges, opens to the quadrangle, or interior court of the *Charem* itself. We will keep this door shut for a short time, in order to describe the seraglio garden

more minutely; and afterwards open it, to gratify the reader's curiosity.

Still facing the *Charem* on the left hand, is a paved ascent, leading, through a handsome gilded iron gate, from the lower to the upper garden. Here is a kiosk, which I shall presently describe. Returning from the *Charem* to the door by which we first entered, a lofty wall on the right hand supports a terrace with a few small parterres: these, at a considerable height above the lower garden, constitute what is now called the Upper Garden of the Seraglio; and, till within these few years, it was the only one.

Having thus completed the tour of this small and insignificant spot of ground, let us now enter the kiosk, which I first mentioned as the sultan's summer residence. It is situated on the sea shore, and commands one of the finest views the eye ever beheld, of Scutary and the Asiatic coast, the mouth of the canal, and a moving picture of ships, gondolas, dolphins, birds, with all the floating pageantry of this vast metropolis, such as no other capital in the world can pretend to exhibit. The kiosk itself, fashioned after the airy fantastic style of Eastern architecture, presents a spacious chamber, covered by a dome, from which, towards the sea, advances a raised platform surrounded by windows, and terminated by a *divân*.\* On the right and left are the private apartments of the sultan and his ladies. From the centre of the dome is suspended a large lustre, presented by the English ambassador. Above the raised platform hangs another lustre of smaller size, but more elegant. Immediately over the sofas constituting the *divân*, are mirrors engraved with Turkish inscriptions; poetry, and passages from the Korân. The sofas are of white satin, beautifully embroidered by the women of the seraglio.

Leaving the platform, on the left hand is the Sultan's private chamber of repose, the floor of which is surrounded by couches of very costly workmanship. Opposite to this chamber, on the other side of the kiosk, a door opens to the apartment in which are placed the attendant Sultanas, the Sultan Mother, or any ladies

\* The *divân* is a sort of couch or sofa, common all over the Levant, surrounding every side of a room, except that which contains the entrance. It is raised about sixteen inches from the floor. When a *divân* is held, it means nothing more than that the persons composing it are thus seated.

in residence with the sovereign. This room corresponds exactly with the Sultan's chamber, except that the couches are more magnificently embroidered.

A small staircase leads from these apartments to two chambers below, paved with marble, and as cold as any cellar. Here a more numerous assemblage of women are buried, as it were, during the heat of summer. The first is a sort of antichamber to the other; by the door of which, in a nook of the wall, are placed the sultan's slippers, of common yellow morocco, and coarse workmanship. Having entered the marble chamber immediately below the kiosk, a marble basin presents itself, with a fountain in the centre, containing water to the depth of about three inches, and a few very small fishes. Answering to the platform mentioned in the description of the kiosk, is another, exactly of a similar nature, closely latticed, where the ladies sit during the season of their residence in this place. I was pleased with observing a few things they had carelessly left upon the sofas, and which characterised their mode of life. Among these was an English writing-box, of black varnished wood, with a sliding cover, and drawers; the drawers containing coloured writing-paper, reed pens, perfumed wax, and little bags made of embroidered satin, in which their billets-doux are sent, by negro slaves, who are both mutes and eunuchs. That liqueurs are drunk in these secluded chambers is evident; for we found labels for bottles, neatly cut out with scissars, bearing Turkish inscriptions, with the words "*Rosoglio*," "*Golden Water*" and "*Water of Life*." Having now seen every part of this building, we returned to the garden, by the entrance which admitted us to the kiosk.

Our next and principal object was the examination of the Charem; and, as the undertaking was attended with danger, we first took care to see that the garden was cleared of Bostanghies, and other attendants; as our curiosity, if detected, would, beyond all doubt, have cost us our lives upon the spot. A catastrophe of this nature has been already related by Le Bruyn.

Having inspected every alley and corner of the garden, we advanced, half-breathless, and on tip-toe, to the great wooden door of the passage which leads to the inner court of this mysterious edifice. We succeeded in forcing this open; but the noise of its grating hinges, amidst the profound silence of the place, went

to our very hearts. We then entered a small quadrangle, exactly resembling that of Queen's College, Cambridge, filled with weeds. It was divided into two parts, one raised above the other; the principal side of the court containing an open cloister, supported by small white marble columns. Every thing appeared in a neglected state. The women only reside here during summer. Their winter apartments may be compared to the late Bastile of France; and the decoration of these apartments is even inferior to that which I shall presently describe. From this court, forcing open a small window near the ground, we climbed into the building, and alighted upon a long range of wooden beds, or couches, covered by mats, prepared for the reception of a hundred slaves: these reached the whole extent of a very long corridor. From hence, passing some narrow passages, the floors of which were also matted, we came to a staircase leading to the upper apartments. Of such irregular and confused architecture, it is difficult to give any adequate description. We passed from the lower dormitory of the slaves to another above: this was divided into two tiers; so that one half of the numerous attendants it was designed to accommodate, slept over the other, upon a sort of shelf or scaffold near the ceiling. From this second corridor we entered into a third, a long matted passage: on the left of this were small apartments for slaves of higher rank; and, upon the right, a series of rooms looking towards the sea. By continuing along this corridor, we at last entered the great *Chamber of Audience*, in which the Sultan Mother receives visits of ceremony from the Sultanas, and other distinguished ladies of the Charem. Nothing can be imagined better suited to theatrical representation than this chamber; and I regret the loss of the very accurate drawing which I caused Monsieur Preaux to complete upon the spot. It is exactly such an apartment as the best painters of scenic decoration would have selected, to afford a striking idea of the pomp, the seclusion, and the magnificence, of the Ottoman court. The stage is best suited for its representation; and therefore the reader is requested to have the stage in his imagination while it is described. It was surrounded with enormous mirrors, the costly donations of infidel kings, as they are styled by the present possessors. These mirrors the women of the Seraglio some-  
times



times break in their frolics. At the upper end is the throne, a sort of cage, in which the Sultana sits, surrounded by latticed blinds; for even here her person is held too sacred to be exposed to the common observation of slaves and females of the Charem. A lofty flight of broad steps, covered with crimson cloth, leads to this cage, as to a throne. Immediately in front of it are two burnished chairs of state, covered with crimson velvet and gold, one on each side the entrance. To the right and the left of the throne, and upon a level with it, are the sleeping apartments of the Sultan Mother, and her principal females in waiting. The external windows of the throne are all latticed: on one side they look towards the sea, and on the other into the quadrangle of the Charem: the chamber itself occupying the whole breadth of the building, on the side of the quadrangle into which it looks. The area below the latticed throne, or the front of the stage (to follow the idea before proposed), is set apart for attendants, for the dancers, for actors, music, refreshments, and whatsoever is brought into the Charem for the amusement of the court. This place is covered with Persian mats; but these are removed when the Sultana is here, and the richest carpets substituted in their place.

Beyond the great Chamber of Audience is the *Assembly Room* of the Sultan, when he is in the Charem. Here we observed the magnificent lustre before mentioned. The Sultan sometimes visits this chamber during the winter, to hear music, and to amuse himself with his favourites. It is surrounded by mirrors. The other ornaments display that strange mixture of magnificence and wretchedness, which characterize all the state-chambers of Turkish grandees. Leaving the Assembly Room by the same door through which we entered, and continuing along the passage, as before, which runs parallel to the sea-shore, we at length reached what might be termed the *sanctum sanctorum* of this Paphian temple, the baths of the Sultan Mother and the four principal Sultanas. These are small, but very elegant, constructed of white marble, and lighted by ground glass above. At the upper end is a raised sudatory and bath for the Sultan Mother, concealed by lattice-work from the rest of the apartment. Fountains play constantly into the floor of this bath, from all its sides; and every degree of refined luxury has been added to the work, which a

people, of all others best versed in the ceremonies of the bath, have been capable of inventing or requiring.

Leaving the bath, and returning along the passage by which we came, we entered what is called the *Chamber of Repose*. Nothing need be said of it, except that it commands the finest view any where afforded from this point of the Seraglio. It forms a part of the building well known to strangers, from the circumstance of its being supported, towards the sea, by twelve columns of that beautiful and rare breccia, the *viride Lacedæmonium* of Pliny, called by Italians *Il verde antico*. These columns are of the finest quality ever seen; and each of them consists of one entire stone. The two interior pillars are of green Egyptian breccia, more beautiful than any specimen of the kind existing.

We now proceeded to that part of the Charem which looks into the Seraglio garden, and entered a large apartment, called *Chalved Yiertzy*, or, as the French would express it, *Salle de promenade*. Here the other ladies of the Charem entertain themselves, by hearing and seeing comedies, farcical representations, dances, and music. We found it in the state of an old lumber-room. Large dusty pier-glasses, in heavy gilded frames, neglected and broken, stood, like the Vicar of Wakefield's family picture, leaning against the wall, the whole length of one side of the room. Old furniture; shabby bureaux of the worst English work, made of oak, walnut, or mahogany; inlaid broken cabinets; scattered fragments of chandeliers; scraps of paper, silk rags, and empty confectionary boxes; were the only objects in this part of the palace.

From this room we descended into the court of the Charem; and, having crossed it, ascended, by a flight of steps, to an upper parterre, for the purpose of examining a part of the building appropriated to the inferior ladies of the Seraglio. Finding it exactly upon the plan of the rest, only worse furnished, and in a more wretched state, we returned, to quit the Charem entirely, and effect our retreat to the garden. The reader may imagine our consternation on finding that the great door was closed upon us, and that we were locked in. Listening, to ascertain if any one was stirring, we discovered that a slave had entered to feed some turkeys, who were gobbling and making a great noise at a small distance. We profited by their tumult, to force back the huge lock of the gate with a large

large stone, which fortunately yielded to our blows, and we made our escape.

We now quitted the lower garden of the Seraglio, and ascended, by a paved road, towards the chamber of the garden of Hyacinths. This promised to be interesting, as we were told the Sultan passed almost all his private hours in that apartment; and the view of it might make us acquainted with occupations and amusements, which characterize the man, divested of the outward parade of the Sultan. We presently turned from the paved ascent, towards the right, and entered a small garden, laid out into very neat oblong borders, edged with porcelain, or Dutch tiles. Here no plant is suffered to grow, except the Hyacinth; whence the name of this garden, and the chamber it contains. We examined this apartment, by looking through a window. Nothing can be more magnificent. Three sides of it were surrounded by a divân, the cushions and pillows of which were of black embroidered satin. Opposite the windows of the chamber was a fire-place, after the ordinary European fashion; and on each side of this, a door covered with hangings of crimson cloth. Between each of these doors and the fire-place, appeared a glass-case, containing the Sultan's private library; every volume being in manuscript, and upon shelves, one above the other, and the title of each book written on the edges of its leaves. From the ceiling of the room, which was of burnished gold, opposite each of the doors, and also opposite to the fire-place, hung three gilt cages, containing small figures of artificial birds: these sung by mechanism. In the centre of the room stood an enormous gilt brazier, supported, in an ewer, by four massive claws, like vessels seen under sideboards in England. Opposite to the entrance, on one side of the apartment, was a raised bench, crossing a door, on which were placed an embroidered napkin, a vase, and bason, for washing the beard and hands. Over this bench, upon the wall, was suspended the large embroidered *porte-feuille*, worked with silver thread on yellow leather, which is carried in procession when the Sultan goes to mosque, or elsewhere in public, to contain the petitions presented by his subjects. In a nook close to the door was also a pair of yellow boots; and on the bench, by the ewer, a pair of slippers of the same materials. These are placed at the entrance of every apartment fre-

quented by the Sultan. The floor was covered with Gobelins tapestry; and the ceiling, as before stated, magnificently gilded and burnished. Groupes of arms, such as pistols, sabres, and poignards, were disposed, with very singular taste and effect, on the different compartments of the walls; the handles and scabbards of which were covered with diamonds of very large size: these, as they glittered around, gave a most gorgeous effect to the splendour of this sumptuous chamber.

We had scarce ended our survey of this costly scene, when, to our great dismay, a Bostanghy made his appearance within the apartment; but, fortunately for us, his head was turned from the window, and we immediately sunk below it, creeping upon our hands and knees, until we got clear of the garden of Hyacinths. Thence, ascending to the upper walks, we passed an aviary of nightingales.

The walks in the upper garden are very small, in wretched condition, and laid out in worse taste than the fore court of a Dutchman's house in the suburbs of the Hague. Small as they are, they constituted, until lately, the whole of the Seraglio gardens near the sea; and from them may be seen the whole prospect of the entrance to the canal, and the opposite coast of Scutary. Here, in an old kiosk, is seen a very ordinary marble slab, supported on iron cramps: this, nevertheless, was a present from Charles the Twelfth of Sweden. It is precisely the sort of sideboard seen in the lowest inns of England; and, while it may be said no person would pay half the amount of its freight to send it back again, it shews the nature of the presents then made to the Porte by foreign princes. From these formal parterres we descended to the gardener's lodge, and left the gardens by the gate through which we entered.

#### ST. SOPHIA.

The architectural merits of St. Sophia and St. Peter's, have been often relatively discussed; yet they reasonably enter into no comparison. No accounts have been more exaggerated than those which refer to the former, whose gloomy appearance is well suited to the ideas we entertain of its present abject and depraved state. In the time of Procopius, its dome might have seemed suspended by a chain from Heaven; but at present, it exhibits much more of a subterranean, than of an aerial character; neither does it



it seem consistent with the perfection of an edifice intended to elevate the mind, that the entrance should be by a descent, as into a cellar. The approach to the Pantheon, at Rome, as well as to the spacious aisle and dome of St. Peter's, is by ascending; but in order to get beneath the dome of St. Sophia, the spectator is conducted down a long flight of stairs. I visited it several times, and always with the same impression. There is, moreover, a littleness and confused Gothic barbarism in the disposition of the parts which connect the dome with the foundation; and in its present state, it is bolstered on the outside with heavy buttresses, like those of a bridge. Mosaic work remains very entire in many parts of the interior. The dome seems to have been adorned with an uniform coating of gilded *tesserae*, which the Turks are constantly removing for sale; attaching superstitious virtues to those loose fragments of Mosaic, from the eagerness with which strangers strive to procure them. In the great arch, opposite to the principal entrance, the Mosaic is coloured, and represents the figures of Saints, of the Virgin, and groupes of enormous wings without bodies.

#### GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

It is somewhat singular, that, amongst all the literary travellers who have described the curiosities of Constantinople, no one has hitherto noticed the market for manuscripts; yet it would be difficult to select an object more worthy of examination. The bazar of the booksellers does not contain all the works enumerated by D'Herbelot; but there is hardly any Oriental author, whose writings, if demanded, may not be procured; although every volume offered for sale is manuscript. The number of shops employed in this way, in that market and elsewhere, amounts to a hundred: each of these contain, upon an average, five hundred volumes; so that no less a number than fifty thousand manuscripts, Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, are daily exposed for sale. One of my first endeavours was to procure a general catalogue of the writings most in request throughout the empire; that is to say, of those works which are constantly on sale in the cities of Constantinople, Aleppo, and Cairo; and also of their prices. This I procured through the medium of a Dervish. The whole of this Catalogue is given in the Appendix; and it may be considered as offering a tolerable view of

the general state of Oriental literature; such, for example, as might be obtained of the literature of Britain, by the catalogues of any of the principal booksellers of London and Edinburgh. The causes of disappointment, which has so often attended the search after manuscripts by literary persons sent out from the academies of Europe, may be easily explained. These men have their residence in Pera, whence it is necessary to go by water to Constantinople. The day is generally far spent before they reach the place of their destination; and, when arrived, they make their appearance followed by a Janissary. The venders of manuscripts, who are often Emirs, and sometimes Dervishes, beholding an infidel thus accompanied, gratifying what they deem an impertinent, and even sacrilegious curiosity, among volumes of their religion and law, take offence, and refuse not only to sell, but to exhibit any part of their collection. The best method is to employ a Dervish, marking in the catalogue such books as he may be required to purchase; or to go alone, unless an interpreter is necessary. I found no difficulty in obtaining any work that I could afford to buy. The manuscript of "The Arabian Nights," or, as it is called, *Alf Lila o Lila*, is not easily procured, and for this reason; it is a compilation, made according to the taste and opportunity of the writer, or the person who orders it of the scribes, found only in private hands, and no two copies contain the same tales. I could not obtain this work in Constantinople, but afterwards bought a very fine copy of it in Grand Cairo. It was not until the second winter of my residence in Pera, that I succeeded, by means of a Dervish of my acquaintance, in procuring a catalogue from one of the principal shops. The master of it was an Emir, a man of considerable attainment in Oriental literature, from whom I had purchased several manuscripts, which are now in the Bodleian library at Oxford. Whenever I had applied to this man for works relating to poetry or history, he was very willing to supply what was wanted; but if I ventured only to touch a Korân, or any other volume held sacred in Turkish estimation, my business terminated abruptly for that day. There are similar manuscript markets in all the Turkish cities, particularly those of Aleppo and Cairo. Many works, common in Cairo, are not to be met with in Constantinople. The Beys have more taste for literature than

than the Turks; and the women, shut up in the Charems of Egypt, pass many of their solitary hours in hearing persons who are employed to read for their amusement.

Nor is the search after Greek manuscripts so unsuccessful as persons are apt to imagine. By employing an intelligent Greek priest, I had an opportunity of examining a great variety of volumes, brought from the Isle of Princes, and from the private libraries of Greek princes resident at the *Phanâr*. It is true, many of them were of little value; and others, of some importance, the owners were unwilling to sell. The fact is, it is not money which such men want. They will often exchange their manuscripts for good printed editions of the Greek Classics, particularly of the orators. Prince Alexander Bano Hantzerli, had a magnificent collection of Greek manuscripts, and long corresponded with me after my return to England. I sent him from Paris, the original edition of the French *Encyclopédie*; and no contemptible idea may be formed of the taste of men, who, situated as the Greek families are in Constantinople, earnestly endeavour, by such publications, to multiply their sources of information. Some of the Greek manuscripts, now in the Bodleian, were originally in his possession; particularly a most exquisite copy of the Four Gospels, of the tenth or eleventh century, written throughout, upon vellum, in the same minute and beautiful characters.

#### PLAIN OF TROY.

It seems hardly to admit of doubt, that the Plain of Anatolia, watered by the Mender, and backed by a mountainous ridge, of which Kazdaghy is the summit, offers the precise territory alluded to by the poet. The long controversy, excited by Mr. Bryant's publication, and since so vehemently agitated, would probably never have existed, had it not been for the erroneous maps of the country, which, even to this hour, disgrace our geographical knowledge of that part of Asia.

According to Homer's description of the Trojan territory, it combined certain prominent and remarkable features, not likely to be affected by any lapse of time. Of this nature was the Hellespont; the Island of Tenedos; the Plain itself; the river by whose inundations it was occasionally overflowed; and the mountain whence that river issued. If

any one of these be found retaining its original appellation, and all other circumstances of association characterize its vicinity, our knowledge of the country is placed beyond dispute.

We crossed the *Mender* by a wooden bridge, immediately after leaving *Koum-kalé*; and ascertained its breadth, in that part, to equal one hundred and thirty yards. We then entered an immense plain, in which some Turks were engaged hunting wild-boars. Peasants were also employed in ploughing a deep and rich soil of vegetable earth. Proceeding towards the east, and round the bay distinctly pointed out by Strabo, as the harbour in which the Grecian fleet was stationed, we arrived at the Sepulchre of Ajax, upon the antient Rhætean Promontory.

The view here afforded of the Hellespont and the Plain of Troy is one of the finest the country affords. Several plants, during the season of our visit, were blooming upon the soil. Upon the tomb itself we noticed the silvery mezereon, the poppy, the beardless hypecoum, and the field-star of Bethlehem.

From the *Alanteum* we passed over a heathy country to *Halil Elly*, a village near the Thymbrius, in whose vicinity we had been instructed to seek the remains of a temple once sacred to the Thymbrean Apollo. The ruins we found were rather the remains of ten temples than of one. The earth to a very considerable extent was covered by subverted and broken columns of marble, granite, and of every order in architecture. Doric, ionic, and corinthian, capitals, lay dispersed in all directions, and some of these were of great beauty. We observed a bas-relief representing a person on horseback pursued by a winged figure; also a beautiful representation, sculptured after the same manner, of Ceres in her car drawn by two scaly serpents.

From the ruins at *Halil Elly* we proceeded through a delightful valley, full of vineyards, and almond-trees in full bloom, intending to pass the night at the village of Thymbreck. We found no antiquities, nor did we hear of any in the neighbourhood. The next day returning towards *Halil Elly*, we left it upon our right, and crossed the Thymbrius by a ford. In summer this river becomes almost dry; but during winter it often presents a powerful torrent, carrying all before it.

After



After we had passed the ford, we ascended a ridge of hills, and found the remains of a very antient paved way. We then came to the town or village of Tchiblack, where we noticed very considerable remains of antient sculpture, but in such a state of disorder and ruin, that no precise description of them can be given. The most remarkable are upon the top of a hill called *Beyan Mezaley*, near the town, in the midst of a beautiful grove of oak trees, towards the village of Callifat. Here the ruins of a doric temple of white marble lay heaped in the most striking manner, mixed with broken stælæ, cippi sarco-phagi, cornices and capitals of very enormous size, entablatures, and pillars. All of these have reference to some peculiar sanctity by which this hill was antiently characterized. It is of a conical form, and stands above the town of Tchiblack, appearing as large as the Castle Hill at Cambridge. The first inquiry that suggests itself, in a view of this extraordinary scene, naturally involves the original cause of the veneration in which the place was antiently held. Does it denote the site of *Pagus Iliensium*, whose inhabitants believed that their village stood on the site of Antient Troy?

We proceeded hence towards the plain; and no sooner reached it, than a tumulus of very remarkable size and situation drew our attention, for a short time, from the main object of our pursuit. This tumulus, of a high conical form and very regular structure, stands altogether insulated. Of its great antiquity no doubt can be entertained by persons accustomed to view the everlasting sepulchres of the antients. On the southern side of its base is a long natural mound of lime-stone: this, beginning to rise close to the artificial tumulus, extends towards the village of Callifat, in a direction nearly from north to south across the middle of the plain. It is of such height, that an army, encamped on the eastern side of it, would be concealed from all observation of persons stationed upon the coast, by the mouth of the Mender. It reaches nearly to a small and almost stagnant river, hitherto unnoticed, called *Callifat Osmak*, or Callifat Water, taking its name from the village near which it falls into the Mender: our road to that place afterwards led us along the top of the mound. Here then both art and nature have combined to mark the plain

by circumstances of feature and association not likely to occur elsewhere; although such as any accurate description of the country might well be expected to include: and if the Poems of Homer, with reference to the Plain of Troy, have similarly associated an artificial tumulus and a natural mound, a conclusion seems warranted, that these are the objects to which he alludes. This appears to be the case in the account he has given of the *Tomb of Ilus* and the *Mound of the Plain*.

From this tomb we rode along the top of the mound of the plain, in a south-western direction, towards Callifat. After we had proceeded about half its length, its inclination became southward. Having attained its extremity in that direction, we descended into the plain, when our guides brought us to the western side of it, near its southern termination, to notice a tumulus, less considerable than the last described, about three hundred paces from the mound, almost concealed from observation by being continually overflowed, upon whose top two small oak trees were then growing. This tumulus will not be easily discerned by future travellers, from the uniformity of its appearance at a distance with the rest of the vast plain in which it is situated, being either covered with corn, or furrowed by the plough. The view it commands of the coast, towards the mouth of the Mender, may possibly entitle it to their subsequent consideration, with reference to the sepulchre of *Myrina*.

We now proceeded to the *Callifat Osmak*, or Callifat Water, a river that can scarce be said to flow towards the Mender; yet so deep, that we were conducted to a ford in order to pass. Hundreds of tortoises, alarmed at our approach, were falling from its banks into the water, as well as from the overhanging branches and thick underwood, among which these animals, of all others the least adapted to climb trees, had singularly obtained a footing. Wild-fowl also were in great abundance, and in the corn land partridges were frequently observed. I have no hesitation in stating, that I conceive this river to be the *Simois*; nor would there perhaps remain a doubt upon the subject, if it were not for the prejudice excited in consequence of a marvellous error, which has prevailed throughout all the recent discussion concerning  
Troy,

Troas, with regard to the sources of the Scamander.

Some peasants of the place came to me with Greek medals. They were all of copper, in high preservation, and all medals of Ilium, struck in the time of the Roman Emperors. On one side was represented the figure of Hector combating, with his shield and spear, and the words ΕΚΤΩΡΙΑΙΕΩΝ; and upon the other, the head either of Antoninus, Faustina, Severus, or some later Roman emperor or empress. As there were so many of these Iliac medals, I asked where they were found; and was answered, in modern Greek, at *Palaio Callifat*, Old Callifat, a short distance from the present village, in the plain towards the east. I begged to be conducted thither; and took one of the peasants with me, as a guide.

We came to an elevated spot of ground, surrounded on all sides by a level plain, watered by the Callifat Osmack, and which there is every reason to believe the *Simoisian*. Here we found, not only the traces, but also the remains of an ancient citadel. Turks were then employed raising enormous blocks of marble, from foundations surrounding the place; possibly the identical works constructed by Lysimachus, who fenced New Ilium with a wall. The appearance of the structure exhibited that colossal and massive style of architecture which bespeaks the masonry of the early ages of Grecian history. All the territory within these foundations was covered by broken pottery, whose fragments were parts of those antient vases now held in such high estimation. Here the peasants said they found the medals they had offered to us, and most frequently after heavy rains. Many had been discovered in consequence of the recent excavations made there by the Turks, who were removing the materials of the old foundations, for the purpose of constructing works at the Dardanelles. As these medals, bearing indisputable legends to designate the people by whom they were fabricated, have also, in the circumstances of their discovery, a peculiar connection with the ruins here, they may be considered as indicating, with tolerable certainty, the situation of the city to which they belonged. Had we observed in our route from Tchiblack, precisely the line of direction mentioned by Strabo, and continued by a due course from east to west, instead of

turning towards the south in the *Simoisian* plain to visit the village of Callifat, we should have terminated the distance he has mentioned, of thirty stadia, (as separating the city from the village of the Iliensians) by the discovery of these ruins. They may have been the same which Kauffer noticed in his map, by the title of *Ville de Constantine*; but evidently appear to be the remains of *New Ilium*; whether we regard the testimony afforded by their situation, as accordant with the text of Strabo; or the discovery there made of medals of the city. Once in possession of this important point, a light breaks in upon the dark labyrinth of Troas; we stand with Strabo upon the very spot whence he deduced his observations concerning other objects in the district; looking down upon the *Simoisian* Plain, and viewing the junction of the two rivers ("one flowing towards Sigeum, and the other towards Rhæteum," precisely as described by him) in front of the Iliensian city; being guided, at the same time, to Callicolone, the village of the Iliacs, and the sepulchres of Æsyetes, Batiæia, and Ilus, by the clue he has afforded. From the natural or artificial elevation of the territory on which the city stood, (an insulated object in the plain) we beheld almost every landmark to which that author has alluded. The splendid spectacle presented towards the west by the snow-clad top of Samothrace, towering behind Imbrus, would baffle every attempt of delineation: it rose with indescribable grandeur, to a height beyond all I had seen for a long time; and while its ætherial summit shone with inconceivable brightness in a sky without a cloud, seemed, notwithstanding its remote situation, as if its vastness would overwhelm all Troas, should an earthquake leave it from its base. Nearer to the eye appeared the mouth of the Hellespont, and Sigeum. On the south, the Tomb of Æsyetes, by the road leading to Alexandria Troas; and less remote, the Scamander, receiving Simois, or *Callifat Water*, at the boundary of the *Simoisian* Plain. Towards the east, the Throsmos, with the sepulchres of Batiæia and Ilus: and far beyond, in the great chain of Ida, Gargarus opposed to Samothrace, dignified by equal if not superior altitude, and beaming the same degree of splendor from the snows by which it was invested.

It is only by viewing the stupendous prospect afforded in these classical regions that



that any adequate idea can be formed of Homer's powers as a painter, and of the accuracy which distinguishes what Mr. Wood (Essay on Homer, p. 132.) terms his "*celestial geography*." Neptune, placed on the top of Samothrace, commanding a prospect of Ida, Troy, and the fleet, observes Jupiter, upon Gargarus, turn his back upon Troas. What is intended by this averted posture of the god, other than that Gargarus was partially concealed by a cloud, while Samothrace remained unveiled; a circumstance so often realized? All the march of Juno, from Olympus, by Pieria and Æmathia, to Athos; from Athos, by sea, to Lemnos; and thence to Imbros, and Gargarus; is a correct delineation of the striking face of Nature, in which the picturesque wildness and grandeur of real scenery is further adorned by a sublime poetical fiction. Hence it is evident that Homer must have lived in the neighbourhood of Troy; that he borrowed the scene of the Iliad (as stated by Mr. Wood, p. 182.) from ocular examination; and the action of it, from the prevailing tradition of the times.

#### THE CARS OF THE TROAD.

The remains of customs belonging to the most remote ages are discernible in the shape and construction of the wicker cars, which are used all over this country. In the first view of them, I recognised the form of an ancient car, of Grecian sculpture, in the Vatican Collection at Rome; and which, although of Parian Marble, had been carved to resemble wicker-work; while its wheels were an imitation of those solid circular planes of timber used at this day, in Troas, and in many parts of Macedonia and Greece, for the cars of the country. They are expressly described by Homer, in the mention made of Priam's litter, when the king commands his sons to bind on the chest, or coffer, which was of wicker-work, upon the body of the carriage.

#### VIEW FROM GARGARUS.

I advanced with eagerness over an aerial ridge, toward the highest point of all, where no vestige of any living being could be discerned. Here the ascent was easier than before; and in a few minutes I stood upon the summit. What a spectacle! All European Turkey, and the whole of Asia Minor, seemed as it were modelled before me on a vast sur-

face of glass. The great objects drew my attention first; afterwards I examined each particular place with minute observation. The eye, roaming to Constantinople, beheld all the Sea of Marmora, the mountains of Prusa, with Asiatic Olympus, and all the surrounding territory; comprehending, in one wide survey, all Propontis and the Hellespont, with the shores of Thrace and Chersonesus, all the north of the Ægean, Mount Athos, the Islands of Imbros, Samothrace, Lemnos, Tenedos, and all beyond, even to Eubœa; the Gulph of Smyrna, almost all Mysia, and Bithynia, with part of Lydia and Ionia. Looking down upon Troas, it appeared spread as a lawn before me. I distinctly saw the course of the Scamander through the Trojan Plain to the sea. The visible appearance of the river, like a silver thread, offered a clue to other objects. I could discern the Tomb of Æsyetes, and even Bonarbashy.

There is yet another singular appearance from the summit of this mountain; and, as this is pointedly alluded to by Homer, it seems to offer strong reason for believing that the poet had himself beheld it from the same place. Looking towards Lectum, the tops of all the Idæan Chain diminish in altitude by a regular gradation, so as to resemble a series of steps, conducting to Gargarus, as the highest point of the whole. Nothing can therefore more forcibly illustrate the powers of Homer as a painter, in the display he has given of the country, and the fidelity with which he delineates every feature in its geography, than the description of the ascent of Juno from Lectum to Gargarus; by a series of natural eminencies, unattainable indeed by mortal tread, but presenting, to the great conceptions of poetical fancy, a scale adequate to the power and dignity of superior beings.

#### CONCLUSIONS RELATIVE TO TROAS.

I. The river Mender is the Scamander of Homer, Strabo, and Pliny. The *amnis navigabilis* of Pliny flows into the Archipelago, to the south of Sigeum.

II. The *AIANTEUM*, or *Tomb of Ajax*, still remains; answering the description given of its situation by ancient authors, and thereby determining also the exact position of the naval station of the Greeks.

III. The Thymbrius is yet recognised; both in its present appellation *Thymbreck*, and in its geographical position.

IV. The spacious plain lying on the north-

north-eastern side of the Mender, and watered by the *Callifat Osmack*, is the Simoisian; and that stream the Simois. Here were signalized all the principal events of the Trojan war.

V. The ruins of *Palais Callifat* are those of the *Ilium* of Strabo. Eastward is the *Throsmos*, or Mound of the Plain.

VI. The Hill near Tchiblack, if it be not the *Callicolone*, may possibly mark the site of the Village of the Ilieans, mentioned by Strabo, where ancient Ilium stood.

VII. *Udjek Têpe* is the tomb of *Æsyetes*. The other tombs mentioned by Strabo, as at Sigeum, are all in the situation he describes. The tomb of Protesilaus also still exists, on the European side of the mouth of the Hellespont.

VIII. The springs of Bonarbashy may possibly have been the *ΔΟΙΑΙ ΠΗΓΑΙ* of Homer; but they are not sources of the Scamander. They are, moreover, warm springs.

IX. The source of the Scamander is in Gargarus, now called *Kasdaghy*, the highest mountain of all the Idæan Chain.

X. The Altars of Jupiter, mentioned by Homer, and by *Æschylus*, were on the hill called *Kûchûnlû Têpe*, at the foot of Gargarus; where the ruins of the temple now remain.

XI. *Pala Scepsis* is yet recognised in the appellation *Esky Skûpshu*.

XII. *Æné* is the *Ainêia* of Strabo; and *Æné Têpe*, perhaps, the Tomb of *Æneas*.

XIII. The extremity of the Adramyttian Gulph inclines round the ridge of Gargarus, towards the north-east; so that the circumstance of Xerxes having this mountain upon his left, in his march from Antandrus to Abydus, is thereby explained.

XIV. Gargarus affords a view, not only of all the Plain of Troy, but of all the district of Troas, and a very considerable portion of the rest of Asia Minor.

#### ERYTHRÆAN STRAITS.

In the channel between Chios and the opposite peninsula of Erythræ, the scenery is perhaps unequalled by any thing in the Archipelago; not only from the grandeur, height, and magnitude, of the gigantic masses presented on the coast, but from the extreme richness and fertility of the island filled with flowery, luxuriant, and odoriferous plants, and presenting a magnificent slope, covered with gardens from the water's edge.

Trees bending with fruit; the citron, the orange, the lemon, the mulberry, and the *Lentiscus*, or mastic-tree, are seen forming extensive groves: and in the midst of these appears the town of Scio.

Upon first entering the straits, small objects interfere not with the stupendous grandeur of the view. Mountains, high, undulating, sweeping, precipitous, inclose the sea on all sides; so as to give it the appearance of a vast lake, surrounded by that sort of Alpine territory, where the eye, from the immensity of objects, roams with facility over the sides and summits it beholds; surveying valleys, precipices, chasms, crags, and bays; and, losing all attention to minute features, is occupied only in viewing the bolder outlines of Nature. As we advanced, however, and drew near to Chios, the gorgeous picture presented by that beautiful island drew all our attention, and engrossed it, from daylight until noon. It is the Paradise of Modern Greece; more productive than any other island, and yielding to none in grandeur. We passed close beneath the town, sailing pleasantly along its vineyards and plantations, and inhaling spicy odours, wafted from cliffs and groves. The houses, being all white, with flat roofs, presented a lively contrast to the evergreens which overshadowed them; seeming like little palaces in the midst of bowers of citron, lime, olive, and pomegranate trees. Indeed, the praises of this favoured island are universal in the country; and its delights constitute the burthen of many a tale, and many a song, among the modern Greeks. Its produce is chiefly silk and mastic. From the abundance of the latter article, the Turks call Chios by the name of *Sackces*, which signifies mastic. The sale of a single ounce of this substance, before the Grand Signior's tributary portion of it has been collected, is punished with death. This the *Cady* annually receives in great pomp, attended by music and other demonstrations of joy.

The inhabitants of Chios amount to about sixty thousand, of which number twenty thousand reside in the town of Scio. It contains forty-two villages. Its minerals merit a more particular regard than they have hitherto obtained. Jasper and marble are said to be found there in considerable quantity and beauty, and a kind of green earth, resembling verdigris, of which I was not able to procure a sight, called "*Earth of Scio*" by



by the Turks. The pavement of the church of *Neamony*, a convent, two hours distant from the town, consists of marble and jasper, with inlaid work of other curious stones, dug from quarries in the island. Several Greek manuscripts were preserved in the library of this convent, when Egmont and Heyman visited the place. The ancient medals of Chios, even the silver, are obtained without difficulty in various parts of the Levant; and perhaps with more facility than upon the island itself. Its inhabitants anciently possessed a reputation for virtue, still maintained among them. According to Plutarch, there was no instance of adultery in Chios, during the space of seven hundred years.

#### GREEK MANUSCRIPTS AT COS.

A poor little shopkeeper in Cos was described, by the French Consul, as possessor of several curious old books. We therefore went to visit him, and were surprised to find him, in the midst of his wares, with a red night-cap on his head, reading the *Odyssey* of Homer in manuscript. This was fairly written upon paper, with interlineary criticisms, and a commentary in the margin. He had other manuscript volumes, containing works upon Rhetoric, Poetry, History, and Theology. Nothing could induce him to part with any of these books. The account he gave was, that some of them were copies of originals in the library at Patmos, (among these I observed the *Apocalypse*, with a Commentary;) and that his father had brought them to Cos. They were intended, he said, for his son, who was to be educated in the Patmos monastery.

#### RHODES.

Rhodes is a most delightful spot. The air of the place is healthy, and its gardens are filled with delicious fruit. Here, as in Cos, every gale is scented with powerful fragrance wafted from groves of orange and citron trees. Numberless aromatic herbs exhale at the same time such profuse odour, that the whole atmosphere seems impregnated with a spicy perfume.

The present inhabitants of the island confirm the ancient history of its climate, maintaining that hardly a day passes, throughout the year, wherein the sun is not visible. Pagan writers describe it as so peculiarly favoured, that Jupiter is fabled to have poured down upon it a golden shower. The winds are liable

to little variation; they are north, or north-west, during almost every month; but these blow with great violence. From the number of appellations it bore at different periods, Rhodes might have at last received the name of the *polyonoman* island. Its antiquities are too interesting to be passed over without notice; but we were hastening to the coast of Egypt, and contented ourselves by taking the few inscriptions found within the town, or its immediate vicinity. The streets were filled with English sailors and soldiers, and all other considerations were absorbed in the great event of the expedition to Aboukir.

#### THE WAR IN EGYPT.

The sight of many of our gallant officers, mutilated, hacked, or wounded by shot in different parts of their bodies, and of others brought off from the shore incapable of service, from the injuries of the climate, presented a revolting picture of the ravages of war. Nor was this all. One day, leaning out of the cabin window, by the side of an officer who was employed in fishing, the corpse of a man, newly sewed in a hammock, started half out of the water, and slowly continued its course, with the current, towards the shore. Nothing could be more horrible: its head and shoulders were visible, turning first to one side, then to the other, with a solemn and awful movement, as if impressed with some dreadful secret of the deep, which, from its watery grave, it came upwards to reveal. Such sights became afterwards frequent, hardly a day passing without ushering the dead to the contemplation of the living, until at length they passed without our observation. Orders were issued to convey as many as possible for interment upon Nelson's Island, instead of casting them overboard. The shores of Egypt may in truth be described as washed with blood. The bones of thousands yet whiten in the scorching sun, upon the sands of Aboukir. If we number those who have fallen since the first arrival of the French upon the coast, in their battles with the Turks, Arabs, and English, we shall find no part of their own ensanguined territory so steeped in human gore. Add to this the streams from slaughtered horses, camels, and other animals, (the stench of whose remains was almost sufficient to raise a pestilence even before the arrival of the English,) and perhaps no part of the world ever presented so dreadful an example. When a land-wind prevailed,

our whole fleet felt the tainted blast; while from beneath the hulks of our transports, ships that had been sunk, with all the encumbering bodies of men and carcases of animals, sent through the waves a fearful exhalation.

#### THE DESERT.

We had to cross a perfect specimen of the pathless African desert, in our way to Utkô. The distance, however, did not exceed three miles. High mounds of sand, shifting with every change of wind, surrounded us on all sides, and concealed the view of other objects. Yet even here were found a few rare plants, and some of these we collected; but the heat was extremely oppressive. We also observed in this desert, an interesting proof of the struggle maintained by man against the forbidding nature of the soil. Here and there appeared plantations of pumpkins, and a few jars and cylinders of *terra cotta*, contained young palm-trees: these were placed in holes deep in the sand; a hollow space surrounding each plant, to collect the copious dew falling every night. The vegetation of Egypt, even the redundant produce of the Delta, is not owing solely to partial inundation from the Nile, or artificial irrigation. When we hear that rain is unknown to the inhabitants, it must not be supposed the land is, on that account, destitute of water. From all the observations we could collect during our subsequent residence, it seemed doubtful whether any other country has so regular a supply of moisture from above. Even the sands of the desert partake largely of "the dew of Heaven," and, in a certain degree, of "the fatness of the earth." Hence it is that we meet with such frequent allusion to the copious dew distilled upon Oriental territories in the sacred writings. Brotherly love is compared by David to "the dew of Hermon." The goodness of Judah is described as the dew. "The remnant of Jacob shall be," it is said, "in the midst of many people, as a dew from the Lord." And the blessings promised by the son of Beerî are to "be as the dew unto Israel."

In all this sandy district, palm-trees are very abundant, and their presence is a never-failing indication of water below the surface: wheresoever they are found, a brackish and muddy pool may speedily be formed, by digging a well near their roots. The natives are chiefly occupied in the care of them; tying up their blos-

soms with bands formed of the foliage, to prevent their being torn off, and scattered by the winds. Our soldiers were at first ignorant of the extent of the mischief caused by cutting down these trees, each of which proves as a little patrimony to the native who is fortunate enough to be its owner. We had ventured into these wilds without guides; and were therefore glad to perceive, as we advanced, the traces of dromedaries' feet upon the sand, crossing the line we pursued. Following the track marked out by these animals, we presently arrived at the wretched solitary village of Utkô, near the muddy shore of the Lake Maadie. Here we procured asses for all our party, and, setting out for Rosetta, began to recross the desert, appearing like an ocean of sand, but flatter and firmer, as to its surface, than before. The Arabs, uttering their harsh guttural language, ran chattering by the side of our asses; until some of them calling out, "*Raschid!*" we perceived its domes and turrets, apparently upon the opposite side of an immense lake or sea, that covered all the intervening space between us and the city. Not having in my own mind, at the time, any doubt as to the certainty of its being water, and seeing the tall minarets and buildings of Rosetta, with all its groves of dates and sycamores, as perfectly reflected by it as by a mirror, insomuch that even the minutest detail of the architecture, and of the trees, might have been thence delineated, I applied to the Arabs to be informed in what manner we were to pass the water. Our interpreter, although a Greek, and therefore likely to have been informed of such a phenomenon, was as fully convinced as any of us that we were drawing near to the water's edge, and became indignant, when the Arabs maintained, that within an hour we should reach Rosetta, by crossing the sands in the direct line we then pursued, and that there was no water. "What," said he, giving way to his impatience, "do you suppose me an idiot, to be persuaded contrary to the evidence of my senses?" The Arabs, smiling, soon pacified him, and completely astonished the whole party, by desiring us to look back at the desert we had already passed, where we beheld a precisely similar appearance. It was, in fact, *the mirage*, a prodigy to which every one of us were then strangers, although it afterwards became more familiar. Yet upon no future occasion did we ever behold this extraordinary



extraordinary illusion so marvellously displayed. The view of it afforded us ideas of the horrible despondency to which travellers must sometimes be exposed, who, in traversing the interminable desert, destitute of water, and perishing with thirst, have sometimes this deceitful prospect before their eyes.

#### THE NILE.

Here we were unexpectedly greeted with an astonishing view of the Nile, the Delta, and the numerous groves in all the neighbourhood of Rosetta: it is the same so wretchedly pictured in Sonnini's Travels, and of which no idea can be formed from his engraved representation. The scene is beyond description. The sudden contrast it offers, opposed to the desert we had traversed, the display of riches and abundance poured forth by the fertility of this African paradise, with all the local circumstances of reflection excited by an extensive prospect of the Nile, and of the plains of Egypt, render it one of the most interesting sights in the world. Among the distant objects we beheld the English camp, stationed about five miles up the river, upon its western side; and all the country, as far as the fortress of Rachmanie. The beautiful boats peculiar to the Nile, with their large wide spreading sails, were passing up and down the river. Unable to quit the spot, we dismissed our guides, and remained some time contemplating the delightful picture. Afterwards, descending on foot, close by the superb mosque of Abû-mandûr, we continued our walk along the banks of the Nile, through gardens richer than imagination can pourtray, beneath the shade of enormous overhanging branches of sycamore and fig trees, amidst bowers of roses, and through groves of date, citron, lime, and banana trees, to Rosetta. As we entered the town, Arabs, in long blue dresses, welcomed our coming, placing their hands upon their breasts, and saying, "*Salaam, Alla! Bon Inglese!*" while from the camp, English officers, on horses, camels, or on foot, and boats, filled with troops, upon the water, gave to the place a character of gayety, never perhaps possessed by it in any former age. All authors mention the beauty of its scenery, complaining only of the monotony and dulness of the city. At the time we saw it, no such complaint was applicable; for, with unrivalled natural beauty, Rosetta then exhibited one of the liveliest and most

varied pictures of human life it is possible to behold. From the different people by whom it was thronged, its streets resembled an immense masquerade. There was hardly a nation in the Mediterranean, but might have been there said to have had its representative in Rosetta; and the motley appearance thus caused, was further diversified by the addition of English ladies from the fleet and army, who, in long white dresses, were riding about upon the asses of the country.

#### CYPRUS.

This island, that had so highly excited, amply gratified, our curiosity by its most interesting antiquities, although there is nothing in its present state pleasing to the eye. Instead of a beautiful and fertile land, covered with groves of fruit and fine woods, once rendering it the Paradise of the Levant, there is hardly upon earth a more wretched spot than it now exhibits. Few words may forcibly describe it: agriculture neglected—inhabitants oppressed—population destroyed—pestiferous air—contagion—poverty—indolence—desolation. Its antiquities alone render it worthy of resort; and these, if any person had leisure and opportunity to search for them, would amply repay the trouble. In this pursuit Cyprus may be considered as yet untrodden. A few inscribed marbles were removed from Buffa by Sir Sidney Smith. Of two that the author examined, one was an epitaph, in Greek hexameter and pentameter lines; and the other commemorated public benefits conferred by one of the Ptolemies. But the Phœnician reliques upon the island are most likely to obtain notice, and these have hitherto been unregarded. The inhabitants of Larneca rarely dig near their town without discovering either the traces of antient buildings, subterranean chambers, or sepulchres. Not long before our arrival, the English Consul, Signor Peristiani, a Venetian, dug up, in one place, above thirty idols belonging to the most antient mythology of the heathen world. Their origin refers to a period long anterior to the conquest of Cyprus by the Ptolemies, and may relate to the earliest establishment of the Phœnician colonies.

The juice of the Cyprian grape resembles a concentrated essence. The wine of the island is so famous all over the Levant, that, in the hyperbolical language of the Greeks, it is said to possess the power of restoring youth to age, and animation

nation to those who are at the point of death.

#### DJEZZAR PACHA.

Soon after we arrived we went on shore with the Captain, to visit Djazzar Pacha, whom Baron de Tott found at Acre, and described as a horrible tyrant above twenty years prior to our coming. Having acted as interpreter for Captain Culverhouse, in all his interviews with this extraordinary man, and occasionally as his confidential agent, when he was not himself present, I had favourable opportunities of studying Djazzar's character. At that time, shut up in his fortress at Acre, he defied the whole power of Turkey, despised the Vizier, and derided the menaces of the Capudan Pacha; although he always affected to venerate the title and the authority of the Sultan. His mere name carried terror with it over all the Holy Land, the most lawless tribes of Arabs expressing their awe and obeisance whensoever it was uttered. As for his appellation, *Djazzar*, as explained by himself, it signified *butcher*; but of this name, notwithstanding its avowed allusion to the slaughters committed by him, he was evidently vain. He was his own minister, chancellor, treasurer, and secretary, often his own cook and gardener; and not unfrequently both judge and executioner in the same instant. Yet there were persons who had acted, and still occasionally officiated in these several capacities, standing by the door of his apartment; some without a nose, others without an arm, with one ear only, or one eye; "*marked men*," as he termed them; persons *bearing* signs of their having been instructed to serve their master with fidelity. Through such an assemblage we were conducted to the door of a small chamber, in a lofty part of his castle, over-looking the port. A Jew, who had been his private secretary, met us, and desired us to wait in an open court, or garden, before this door, until Djazzar was informed of our coming. This man, for some breach of trust, had been deprived of an ear and an eye at the same time. At one period of the Pacha's life, having reason to suspect the fidelity of his wives, he put seven of them to death with his own hands. It was after his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca; the Janissaries, during his absence, having obtained access to the charem.

If his history be ever written, it will have all the air of a romance. His real

name is Achmed. He was a native of Bosnia, and speaks the Slavonian language better than any other. It is impossible to give even a detail of his numerous adventures here. At an early period of his life, he sold himself to a slave-merchant in Constantinople; and, being purchased by Ali Bey, in Egypt, he rose from the humble situation of a Mamluke slave, to the post of governor of Cairo. In this situation, he distinguished himself by the most rigorous execution of justice, and realized the stories related of Oriental Caliphs, by mingling, in disguise, with the inhabitants of the city, and thus making himself master of all that was said concerning himself, or transacted by his officers. The interior of his mysterious palace, inhabited by his women, or, to use the Oriental mode of expression, the Charem of his seraglio, is accessible only by himself. Early in every evening he regularly retired to this place, through three massive doors, every one of which he closed and barred with his own hands. To have knocked at the outer door after he had retired, or even to enter the seraglio, was an offence that would have been punished with death. No person in Acre knew the number of his women, but from the circumstance of a certain number of covers being daily placed in a kind of wheel, or turning cylinder, so contrived as to convey dishes to the interior, without any possibility of observing the person who received them. He had from time to time received presents of female slaves; these had been sent into his Charem, but, afterwards, whether they were alive or dead, no one knew except himself. They entered, never to go out again; and, thus immured, were cut off from all knowledge of the world, except what he thought proper to communicate. If any of them were ill, he brought a physician to a hole in the wall of the Charem, through which the sick person was allowed to thrust her arm; the Pacha himself holding the hand of the physician during the time her pulse was examined. If any of them died, the event was kept as secret as when he massacred them with his own hands; and this, it was said, he had done in more than one instance. Such stories are easily propagated, and as readily believed; and it is probable that many of them are without foundation. We must however admit the truth, of the terrible examples he made after his return from Mecca, in consequence of the infidelity of his women.



men. From all the information we could obtain, he considered the female tenants of his Charem as the children of his family. When he retired, he carried with him a number of watch-papers he had amused himself by cutting with scissars during the day, as toys to distribute among them; neither could there be any possible motive of cruelty, even in the worst of tyrants, towards such defenceless victims. He was above sixty years old at the time of our arrival, but vain of the vigour he still retained at that advanced age. He frequently boasted of his extraordinary strength; and used to bare his arm, in order to exhibit his brawny muscles. Sometimes, in conversation with strangers, he would suddenly leap upright from his seat, to shew his activity.

#### INTERVIEW WITH DJEZZAR.

We found him seated on a mat in a little chamber, destitute even of the meanest article of furniture, excepting a coarse, porous, earthenware vessel, for cooling the water he occasionally drank. He was surrounded by persons maimed and disfigured in the manner before described. He scarcely looked up to notice our entrance, but continued his employment of drawing upon the floor, for one of his engineers, a plan of some works he was then constructing. His form was athletic, and his long white beard entirely covered his breast. His habit was that of a common Arab, plain but clean, consisting of a white camlet over a cotton cassock. His turban was also white. Neither cushion nor carpet decorated the naked boards of his divân. In his girdle he wore a poignard set with diamonds; but this he apologized for exhibiting, saying, it was his badge of office, as governor of Acre, and therefore could not be laid aside. Having ended his orders to the engineer, we were directed to sit upon the end of the divân; and Signor Bertocino, his dragoman, kneeling by his side, he prepared to hear the cause of our visit.

The conversation began by a request from the Pacha, that English captains, in future, entering the Bay of Acre, would fire only one gun, rather as a signal, than as a salute, upon their arrival. "There can be no good reason," said he, "for such a waste of gunpowder, in ceremony between friends. Besides," he added, "I am too old to be pleased with ceremony: among forty-three Pachas

of three tails, now living in Turkey, I am the senior. My occupations are consequently, as you see, very important," taking out a pair of scissars, and beginning to cut figures in paper, which was his constant employment when strangers were present: these he afterwards stuck upon the wainscot. "I shall send each of you away," said he "with good proof of old Djazzar's ingenuity. There," addressing himself to Captain Culverhouse, and offering a paper cannon, "there is a symbol of your profession:" and while I was explaining to the captain the meaning of this singular address, he offered me a paper flower, denoting, as he said, "*a florid interpretation of blunt speech.*" As often as we endeavoured to introduce the business of our visit, he affected to be absorbed in these trifling conceits, or turned the conversation by allegorical sayings, to whose moral we could find no possible clue. His whole discourse was in parables, proverbs, truisms, and Oriental apologies. One of his tales lasted nearly an hour, about a man who wished to enjoy the peaceful cultivation of a small garden, without consulting the lord of the manor, whenever he removed a tulip; alluding, perhaps, to his situation with reference to the Grand Signior. There was evidently much cunning and deep policy in his pretended frivolity. Apparently occupied in regulating the shape of a watch-paper with his scissars, he was all the while deeply attentive to our words, and even to our looks, anxious to discover whether there was any urgency in the nature of our visit; and certainly betraying as much ostentation in the seeming privations to which he exposed himself, as he might have done by the most stately magnificence. He was desirous of directing the attention of his visitors to the homeliness of his mode of living: "If I find," said he, "only bread and water in another world, I shall have no cause of complaint, because I have been accustomed to such fare all my days; but those who have fared sumptuously in this life, will, I suspect, be much disappointed in the next." We spoke of the camp of his cavalry, then stationed near the town; and of the great preparations he seemed to be making against the Druses, and other rebel Arabs, with whom he was at war. "It is not," said he, "the part of a wise man to despise his enemy, whatsoever shape he may assume. If he be but a pismire, there is no reason why

why he should be permitted to creep upon your cheek while you are sleeping." We found we had touched a tender string: he believed these dissensions had been excited in his dominions by Sir Sidney Smith, to divert him from the possibility of assisting the French, by attacking the Vizier's army in its march through Syria; and was much incensed while he complained to us of this breach of confidence. "I ate," said he, "bread and salt with that man; we were together, as sworn friends. He did what he pleased here. I lent him my staff; he released all my prisoners, many of whom were in my debt, and never paid me a parâ. What engagements with him have I violated? What promises have I not fulfilled? What requests have I denied? I wished to combat the French by his side; but he has taken care that I shall be confined at home, to fight against my own people. Have I merited such treatment?" When he was a little pacified, we ventured to assure him that he had listened to his own and to Sir Sidney's enemies; that there did not exist a man more sincerely allied to him; and that the last commission we received, previously to our leaving the fleet, were Sir Sidney's memorials of his regard for Djezzar Pacha. In proof of this, I presumed to lay before him the present Sir Sidney had entrusted to my care. It was a small, but very elegant, telescope, with silver slides. He regarded it however with disdain, saying, it had too splendid an exterior for him; and taking down an old ship glass, that hung above his head, covered with greasy leather, added, "Humbler instruments serve my purposes; besides, you may tell Sir Sidney, that Djezzar, old as he is, seldom requires the aid of a glass to view what passes around him." Finding it impossible to pacify him upon this subject, we turned the conversation, by stating the cause of our visit to Acre, and requested a supply of cattle for the use of the British fleet. He agreed to furnish an hundred bullocks, but upon the sole condition of not being offered payment for them in money. He said, it would require some time to collect cattle for that purpose: we therefore persuaded Captain Culverhouse to employ the interval in making, with us, a complete tour of the Holy Land. Djezzar, having heard of our intention, promised to supply us with horses from his own stables, and an escort, formed of his body guard, for the undertaking; ordering also his dragoman,

Signor Bertocino, to accompany us during the expedition, and to render us every assistance in his power.

#### PESTILENTIAL ATMOSPHERE.

There are few exceptions to an observation which has, in a certain degree, been confirmed by my own actual experience; namely, that unwholesome air prevails, during certain seasons, over all the shores of the inland seas, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the marshes of the Don. We are told, indeed, of the salubrity of the south of France; and certain situations may be pointed out along the coast of Syria, uninfected by any summer *malaria*. But, generally speaking, all the shores of the Mediterranean, of the Archipelago, of the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azof, have their periodical vapours of pestilence and death. Many of them are never free from bad air; and numberless are the victims who, unconscious of the danger, have been exposed to its effects. Places infected by such dangerous vapour may be distinguished, at the setting or rising of the sun, by thick and heavy mists of a milky hue; these may at that time be observed, hovering, and seldom rising high above the soil. The mildest diseases inflicted by this kind of air are quartan and tertian fevers; sometimes instant death is occasioned by them. The inhabitants of the Gulph of Salernum and the Coast of Baia, as well as those resident in the Pontine Marshes, suffer violent contraction of the joints, and appear in the most decrepid state after the immediate danger of the fever has subsided. Various parts of Asia Minor, of Egypt, Greece, and Italy, experience only the short period of their winter as a season of health. During summer, a visit to the islands in the south of the Archipelago, (especially to the Island of Milo,) to the Gulphs of Smyrna, Salonichi, and Athens, is as a passage to the grave; and over almost all the shores of the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azof, it is impossible to escape the consequences of bad air, without the most rigorous abstinence. In those countries, swarms of venomous insects, by the torments they inflict, warn mankind to avoid the deadly atmosphere. No idea can be given, from mere verbal description, of the appearance they present. The noise made by them is louder than can be imagined; and when joined to the clamorous whooping of millions of toads, (such as the inhabitants of northern countries are happy never to have heard,) silence the ordinary



ordinary characteristic of solitude, is so completely annihilated, that the few unfortunate beings occasionally found in those fearful regions are strangers to its influence.

PLAIN OF ZABULON.

After leaving Shefhamer the mountainous territory begins, and the road winds among valleys covered with beautiful trees. Passing these hills, we entered that part of Galilee which belonged to the tribe of Zabulon; whence, according to the triumphal song of Deborah and Barak, issued to the battle against Sisera, "*they that handled the pen of the writer.*" The scenery is, to the full, as delightful as in the rich vales upon the south of the Crimea: it reminded us of the finest parts of Kent and Surrey. The soil, although stony, is exceedingly rich, but now entirely neglected. That a man so avaricious as Djezzar could not discern the bad policy of his mode of government, was somewhat extraordinary. His territories were uncultivated, because he annihilated all the hopes of industry; but, had it pleased him to encourage the labours of the husbandman, he might have been in possession of more wealth and power than any Pacha in the Grand Signior's dominions. The delightful plain of Zabulon appeared everywhere covered with spontaneous vegetation, flourishing in the wildest exuberance.

RELIGION OF THE HOLY LAND.

The inhabitants of Sephoury are generally Maronites; yet even here we found some Druses. Those of Nazareth are Greeks, Maronites, and Catholics. Cana of Galilee is tenanted by Greeks only; so is the town of Tiberias. In Jerusalem there are sects of every denomination, and, perhaps, of almost every religion upon earth. As to those who call themselves Christians, in opposition to the Moslems, we found them divided into sects, with whose distinctions we were often unacquainted. It is said there are no Lutherans; and if we add, that, under the name of Christianity, every degrading superstition and profane rite, equally remote from the enlightened tenets of the Gospel, and the dignity of human nature, are professed and tolerated, we shall afford a true picture of the state of society in this country. The cause may be easily assigned. The pure Gospel of Christ, every where the herald of civilization and of science, is almost as little known in the Holy Land as in Caliphornia or New Holland.

A series of legendary traditions, mingled with remains of Judaism, and the wretched phantasies of illiterate ascetics, may now and then exhibit a glimmering of heavenly light; but, if we seek for the blessed effects of Christianity in the Land of Canaan, we must look for that period when "the desert shall blossom as the rose, and the wilderness become a fruitful field." For this reason we had early resolved to make the sacred Scriptures our only guide throughout this interesting territory; and the delight afforded by the internal evidences of truth, in every instance where their fidelity of description was proved by a comparison with existing documents, surpassed even all we had anticipated.

JOURNEY TO NAZARETH.

Our journey led us over a hilly and stony tract of land, having no resemblance to the deep and rich soil we had before passed. The rocks consisted of a hard compact limestone. Hasselquist relates, that it is a continuation of a species of territory peculiar to the same meridian through several countries. He found here the same plants which he had seen in Judea; and these, he says, were not common elsewhere. Among the more rare, he mentions the *Kali fruticosum*. Hereabouts we found that curious plant, the *Hedysarum Alhagi*, together with the *Psoralea Palastina*, of Linnæus, and a new species of *Pink*. This last, from the interesting circumstance of its locality, we have named *DIANTHUS NAZAREUS*. About a mile to the south-east of Sephoury, is the celebrated fountain so often mentioned in the history of the Crusades. The dress of the Arabs, in this part of the Holy Land, and indeed throughout all Syria, is simple and uniform: it consists of a blue shirt, descending below the knees, the legs and feet being exposed, or the latter sometimes covered with the ancient *cothurnus*, or buskin. A cloak is worn, of very coarse and heavy camel's hair cloth, almost universally decorated with broad black-and-white stripes, passing vertically down the back: this is of one square piece, with holes for the arms: it has a seam down the back. Made without this seam, it is considered of greater value. Here, then, we perhaps beheld the form and materials of our Saviour's garment, for which the soldiers cast lots; being "*without seam, woven from the top throughout.*" It was the most

most ancient dress of the inhabitants of this country.

The rest of this short journey, like the preceding part of it, was over sterile limestone, principally ascending, until we entered a narrow defile between the hills. This, suddenly opening towards our right, presented us with a view of the small town or village of Nazareth, situated upon the side of a barren rocky elevation, facing the East, and commanding a long valley. Throughout the dominion of Djezzar Pacha, there was no place that suffered more from his tyrannical government than Nazareth. Its inhabitants, unable to sustain the burthens imposed upon them, were continually emigrating to other territories. The few who remained were soon to be stripped of their possessions; and when no longer able to pay the tribute exacted from them, no alternative remained, but that of going to Acre to work in his fortifications, or to flee their country. The town was in the most wretched state of indigence and misery; the soil around might bid defiance to agriculture; and, to the prospect of starvation were added the horrors of the plague. Thus it seemed destined to maintain its ancient reputation; for the Nathanael of his day might have inquired of a native of Bethsaida, whether "any good thing could come out of Nazareth?" A party of Djezzar's troops, encamped in tents about the place, were waiting to seize even the semblance of a harvest which could be collected from all the neighbouring district. In the valley, appeared one of those fountains, which, from time immemorial, have been the halting-place of caravans, and sometimes the scene of contention and bloodshed. The women of Nazareth were passing to and from the town, with pitchers upon their heads. We stopped to view the groupe of camels, with their drivers, who were there reposing; and, calling to mind the manners of the most remote ages, we renewed the solicitation of Abraham's servant unto Rebecca, by the Well of Nahor. In the writings of early pilgrims and travellers, this spring is denominated "*the fountain of the Virgin Mary*;" and certainly, if there be a spot, throughout the Holy Land, that was undoubtedly honoured by her presence, we may consider this to have been the place; because the situation of a copious spring is not liable to change; and because the custom of repairing thither to draw water has been continued among the female

inhabitants of Nazareth, from the earliest period of its history.

#### NAZARETH.

After leaving this fountain, we ascended to the town, and were conducted to the house of the principal Christian inhabitant of Nazareth. The tremendous name of Djezzar had succeeded in providing for us, in the midst of poverty, more sumptuous fare than is often found in wealthier cities: the convent had largely contributed; but we had reason to fear, that many poor families had been pinched to supply our board. All we could do, therefore, as it was brought with cheerfulness, was to receive it thankfully; and we took especial care that those from whom we obtained it should not go unrewarded.

Scarcely had we reached the apartment prepared for our reception, when, looking from the window into the courtyard belonging to the house, we beheld two women grinding at the mill, in a manner most forcibly illustrating the saying of our Saviour. They were preparing flour to make our bread, as it is always customary in the country when strangers arrive. The two women, seated upon the ground, opposite to each other, held between them two round flat stones, such as are seen in Lapland, and such as in Scotland are called *querns*; but the circumstance is so interesting, (our Saviour's allusion actually referring to an existing custom in the place of his earliest residence,) that a little repetition may perhaps be pardoned. In the centre of the upper stone was a cavity for pouring in the corn; and, by the side of this, an upright wooden handle, for moving the stone. As the operation began, one of the women, with her right hand, pushed this handle to the woman opposite, who again sent it to her companion,—thus communicating a rotatory and very rapid motion to the upper stone; their left hands being all the while employed in supplying fresh corn, as fast as the bran and flour escaped from the sides of the machine.

The Convent of Nazareth, situated in the lower part of the village, contains about fourteen friars, of the Franciscan order. Its church (erected, as they relate, over the cave wherein the Virgin Mary is supposed to have resided) is a handsome edifice; but it is degraded, as a sanctuary, by absurdities too contemptible for notice, if the description of them did not offer an instructive lesson, shewing



ing the abject state to which the human mind may be reduced by superstition.

The other objects of veneration in Nazareth, at every one of which indulgencies are sold to travellers, are, 1. The Work-shop of Joseph, which is near the convent, and was formerly included within its walls; this is now a small chapel, perfectly modern, and lately whitewashed. 2. The Synagogue, where Christ is said to have read the Scriptures to the Jews, at present a church. 3. A Precipice without the town, where they say the Messiah leaped down, to escape the rage of the Jews, after the offence his speech in the synagogue had occasioned. Here they shew the impression of his hand, made as he sprang from the rock. From the description given by St. Luke, the monks affirm, that, anciently, Nazareth stood eastward of its present situation, upon a more elevated spot. The words of the Evangelist are, however, remarkably explicit, and prove the situation of the ancient city to have been precisely that which is now occupied by the modern town. Induced, by the words of the Gospel, to examine the place more attentively than we should have otherwise done, we went, as it is written, "*out of the city, unto the brow of the hill whereon the city is built,*" and came to a precipice corresponding with the words of the Evangelist. It is above the Maronite Church, and probably the precise spot alluded to by the text of St. Luke's Gospel.

In the evening we visited the environs, and, walking to the brow of a hill above the town, were gratified by an interesting prospect of the long valley of Nazareth, and some hills between which a road leads to the neighbouring Plain of Esdraelon, and to Jerusalem. Some of the Arabs came to converse with us. We were surprised to hear them speaking Italian: they said they had been early instructed in this language, by the friars of the Convent. Their conversation was full of complaints against the rapacious tyranny of their governors. One of them said, "Beggars in England are happier and better than we poor Arabs." "*Why better?*" said one of our party. "*Happier,*" replied the Arab who had made the observation, "*in a good Government: better, because they will not endure a bad one.*"

The second night after our arrival, as soon as it grew dark, we all stretched ourselves upon the floor of our apartment, not without serious alarm of catching the

plague, but tempted by the hope of obtaining a little repose. This we had found impracticable the night before, in consequence of the vermin. The hope was, however, vain; not one of our party could close his eyes. Every instant it was necessary to rise, and endeavour to shake off the noxious animals with which our bodies were covered. In addition to this penance, we were serenaded, until four o'clock in the morning, the hour we had fixed for our departure, by the constant ringing of a chapel bell, as a charm against the plague; by the barking of dogs; braying of asses; howling of jackals; and by the squalling of children.

#### CANA.

We entered Cana, and halted at a small Greek chapel, in the court of which we all rested, while our breakfast was spread upon the ground. This grateful meal consisted of about a bushel of cucumbers, some white mulberries, a very insipid fruit, gathered from the trees reared to feed silk-worms; hot cakes of unleavened bread, fried in honey and butter; and, as usual, plenty of fowls. We had no reason to complain of our fare, and all of us ate heartily. We were afterwards conducted into the chapel, in order to see the reliques and sacred vestments there preserved. When the poor priest exhibited these, he wept over them with so much sincerity, and lamented the indignities to which the holy places were exposed in terms so affecting, that all our pilgrims wept also. Such were the tears which formerly excited the sympathy, and roused the valour of the Crusaders. The sailors of our party caught the kindling zeal; and little more was necessary to incite in them a hostile disposition towards every Saracen they might afterwards encounter. The ruins of a church are shewn in this place, which is said to have been erected over the spot where the marriage-feast of Cana was held. It is worthy of note, that, walking among these ruins, we saw large massy stone water-pots, answering the description given of the ancient vessels of the country; not preserved, nor exhibited, as reliques, but lying about, disregarded by the present inhabitants, as antiquities with whose original use they were unacquainted. From their appearance, and the number of them, it was quite evident that a practice of keeping water in large stone pots, each

holding from eighteen to twenty-seven gallons, was once common in the country.

#### HEAT OF THE CLIMATE.

About three miles beyond Cana, we passed the village of *Turan*: near this place they pretend to shew the field where the Disciples of Jesus Christ plucked the ears of corn upon the Sabbath-day. The Italian Catholics have named it the field "*degli Setti Spini*," and gather the bearded wheat, which is annually growing there, as a part of the collection of reliques wherewith they return burthened to their own country. The heat of this day was greater than any to which we had yet been exposed in the Levant; nor did we afterwards experience any thing so powerful. Captain Culverhouse had the misfortune to break his umbrella;—a frivolous event in milder latitudes, but here of so much importance, that all hopes of continuing our journey depended upon its being repaired. Fortunately, beneath some rocks, over which we were then passing, there were caverns, excavated by primeval shepherds, as a shelter from scorching beams, capable of baking bread, and actually of dressing meat: into these caves we crept, not only for the purpose of restoring the umbrella, but also to profit by the opportunity, thus offered, of unpacking our thermometers, and ascertaining the temperature of the atmosphere. It was now twelve o'clock. The mercury, in a gloomy recess under ground, perfectly shaded, while the scale was placed so as not to touch the rock, remained at one hundred degrees of Fahrenheit. As to making any observation in the sun's rays, it was impossible; no one of the party had courage to wait with the thermometer a single minute in such a situation.

All the pleasure of travelling, at this season of the year, in the Holy Land, is suspended by the excessive heat of the sun. A traveller, wearied and spiritless, is often more subdued at the beginning than at the end of his day's journey. Many rare plants and curious minerals invite his notice, as he passes slowly along, with depressed looks fixed upon the ground; but these it is impossible for him to obtain. It appears to him to be an act of unjustifiable cruelty to ask a servant, or even one of the attending Arabs, to descend from his horse, for the purpose of collecting either the one or the other. All nature seems to droop; every animal seeks for shade, which it is extremely difficult to find. But the cha-

maelon, the lizard, the serpent, and all sorts of beetles, basking, even at noon, upon rocks and in sandy places, exposed to the most scorching rays, seem to rejoice in the greatest heat wherein it is possible to exist.

#### THE MOUNT.

As we advanced, our journey led through an open campaign country, until, upon our right, the guides shewed us the Mount where it is believed that Christ preached to his Disciples that memorable sermon, concentrating the sun and substance of every Christian virtue. We left our route to visit this elevated spot; and, having attained the highest point of it, a view was presented, which, for its grandeur, independently of the interest excited by the different objects contained in it, has no parallel in the Holy Land.

From this situation we perceived that the plain, over which we had been so long riding, was itself very elevated. Far beneath appeared other plains, one lower than the other, and extending to the surface of the Sea of Tiberias, or Sea of Galilee. This immense lake, almost equal, in the grandeur of its appearance, to that of Geneva, spreads its waters over all the lower territory, extending from the north-east towards the south-west, and then bearing east of us. Its eastern shores present a sublime scene of mountains, extending towards the north and south, and seeming to close it in at either extremity; both towards Chorazin, where the Jordan enters; and, the Aulon, or Campus-magnus, through which it flows to the Dead Sea. The cultivated plains reaching to its borders, which we beheld at an amazing depth below our view, resembled, by the various hues their different produce exhibited, the motley pattern of a vast carpet. To the north appeared snowy summits, towering, beyond a series of intervening mountains, with unspeakable greatness. We considered them as the summits of Libanus; but the Arabs belonging to our caravan called the principal eminence *Jebel el Sieh*, saying it was near Damascus; probably, therefore, a part of the chain of Libanus. This summit was so lofty, that the snow entirely covered the upper part of it; not lying in patches, as I have seen it, during summer, upon the tops of very elevated mountains, (for instance, upon that of Ben Nevis in Scotland,) but investing all the higher part with that perfect white and



and smooth velvet-like appearance which snow only exhibits when it is very deep; a striking spectacle in such a climate, where the beholder, seeking protection from a burning sun, almost considers the firmament to be on fire.

OTHER REVERED SITES.

As we rode towards the Sea of Tiberias, the guides pointed to a sloping spot from the heights upon our right, whence we had descended, as the place where the miracle was accomplished by which our Saviour fed the multitude: it is therefore called *The Multiplication of Bread*; as the Mount above, where the Sermon was preached to his Disciples, is called *The Mountain of Beatitudes*, from the expressions used in the beginning of that discourse. This part of the Holy Land is very full of wild animals. Antelopes are in great number. We had the pleasure of seeing these beautiful quadrupeds in their natural state, feeding among the thistles and tall herbage of these plains, and bounding before us occasionally, as we disturbed them. The Arabs frequently take them in the chase. The lake now continued in view upon our left. The wind rendered its surface rough, and called to mind the situation of our Saviour's Disciples, when, in one of the small vessels which traverse these waters, they were tossed in a storm, and saw Jesus, in the fourth watch of the night, walking to them upon the waves. Often as this subject has been painted, combining a number of circumstances adapted for the representation of sublimity, no artist has been aware of the uncommon grandeur of the scenery, memorable on account of the transaction. The Lake of Gennesareth is surrounded by objects well calculated to heighten the solemn impression made by such a picture; and, independent of the local feelings likely to be excited in its contemplation, affords one of the most striking prospects in the Holy Land. It is by comparison alone that any due conception of the appearance it presents can be conveyed to the minds of those who have not seen it; and, speaking of it comparatively, it may be described as longer and finer than any of our Cumberland and Westmoreland lakes, although perhaps it yields in majesty to the stupendous features of Loch Lomond in Scotland. It does not possess the vastness of the Lake of Geneva, although it much resembles it in particular points of view.

Along the borders of this lake may still be seen the remains of those ancient tombs, hewn by the earliest inhabitants of Galilee, in the rocks which face the water. Similar works were before noticed among the Ruins of Telmessus. They were deserted in the time of our Saviour, and had become the resort of wretched men, afflicted by diseases, and made outcasts of society; for, in the account of the cure performed by our Saviour upon a maniac in the country of the Gadarenes, these tombs are particularly alluded to; and their existence to this day (although they have been neither noticed by priests nor pilgrims, and have escaped the ravages of the Empress Helena, who would undoubtedly have shaped them into churches) offers strong internal evidence of the accuracy of the Evangelist who has recorded the transaction: "There met him out of the tombs a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling among the tombs."

PLAIN OF ESDRAELON.

Here, on this plain, the most fertile part of all the land of Canaan, (which, though a solitude, we found like one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture,) the tribe of Issachar "rejoiced in their tents." In the first ages of Jewish History, as well as during the Roman Empire, the Crusades, and, even in later times, it has been the scene of many a memorable contest. Here it was that Barak, descending with his ten thousand from Mount Thabor, discomfited Sisera and "all his chariots, even nine hundred chariots of iron, and all the people that were with him," gathered "from Harosheth of the Gentiles, unto the river of Kishon;" when "all the host of Sisera fell upon the edge of the sword; and there was not a man left;" when "the kings came and fought, the kings of Canaan in *Taanach*, by the waters of *Megiddo*." Here also it was that Josiah, king of Judah, fought in disguise against Necho, king of Egypt, and fell by the arrows of his antagonist. So great were the lamentations for his death, that the mourning for Josiah became "an ordinance in Israel." The "great mourning in Jerusalem," foretold by Zechariah, is said to be as the lamentations in the Plain of Esdraelon, or, according to the language of the prophet, "as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the *Valley of Megiddon*." Josephus often mentions this very remarkable part of the Holy Land, and always under the

the appellation of "*The Great Plain*." It has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in this country, from the days of Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, (in the history of whose war with Arphaxad, it is mentioned as *the great Plain of Esdraelon*;) until the disastrous march of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian Crusaders, and Anti-Christian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs, warriors out of "every nation which is under heaven," have pitched their tents upon the Plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners of their nations wet with the dews of Thabor and of Hermon.

A tolerably accurate notion of its extent, in this direction, may be obtained from a statement of the time we spent in crossing it. We were exactly seven hours thus employed; proceeding at the rate of three miles in each hour. Its breadth, therefore, may be considered as equal to twenty-one miles. The people of the country told us it was two days' journey in length.

#### NAPOLOSE, OR SICHEM.

The view of this place much surprised us, as we had not expected to find a city of such magnitude in the road to Jerusalem. It seems to be the metropolis of a very rich and extensive country, abounding with provisions, and all the necessary articles of life, in much greater profusion than the town of Acre. White bread was exposed for sale in the streets, of a quality superior to any that is to be found elsewhere throughout the Levant. The governor of Napolose received and regaled us with all the magnificence of an Eastern sovereign. Refreshments, of every kind known in the country, were set before us; and when we supposed the list to be exhausted, to our very great astonishment, a most sumptuous dinner was brought in.

There is nothing in the Holy Land finer than the view of Napolose, from the heights around it. As the traveller descends towards it from the hills, it appears luxuriantly embosomed in the most delightful and fragrant bowers; half concealed by rich gardens, and by stately trees collected into groves, all around the bold and beautiful valley in which it stands. Trade seems to flourish among its inhabitants. Their principal employment is in making soap; but the manufactures of the town supply a very

widely extended neighbourhood, and they are exported to a great distance, upon camels. In the morning after our arrival, we met caravans coming from Grand Cairo; and noticed others reposing in the large olive plantations near the gates.

The traveller, directing his footsteps towards its ancient sepulchres, as everlasting as the rocks wherein they are hewn, is permitted, upon the authority of sacred and indelible record, to contemplate the spot where the remains of Joseph, of Eleazar, and of Joshua, were severally deposited. If any thing connected with the memory of past ages be calculated to awaken local enthusiasm, the land around this city is pre-eminently entitled to consideration. The sacred story of events transacted in the fields of Sichem, from our earliest years is remembered with delight; but, with the territory before our eyes where those events took place, and in the view of objects existing as they were described above three thousand years ago, the grateful impression kindles into ecstasy. Along the valley, we beheld "a company of Ishmaelites, coming from Gilead," as in the days of Reuben and Judah, "with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh," who would gladly have purchased another Joseph of his brethren, and conveyed him, as a slave, to some Potiphar in Egypt. Upon the hills around, flocks and herds were feeding, as of old; nor in the simple garb of the shepherds of Samaria was there any thing repugnant to the notions we may entertain of the appearance presented by the sons of Jacob. It was indeed a scene to abstract and to elevate the mind; and, under emotions so called forth by every circumstance of powerful coincidence, a single moment seemed to concentrate whole ages of existence.

In the time of Alexander the Great, Sichem was considered as the capital of Samaria. Its inhabitants were called Samaritans, not merely as people of Samaria, but as a sect at variance with the other Jews. They consisted principally of deserters from Judæa. They have continued to maintain their peculiar tenets to the present day. The inhabitants, according to Procopius, were much favoured by the Emperor Justinian, who restored their sanctuaries, and added largely to the edifices of the city. The principal object of veneration among them is *Jacob's Well*, over which a church was formerly erected. This is situated at a small distance from the town,



in the road to Jerusalem, and has been visited by pilgrims of all ages; but particularly since the Christian æra, as the place where our Saviour revealed himself to the woman of Samaria. The spot is so distinctly marked by the Evangelist, and so little liable to uncertainty, from the circumstance of the Well itself and the features of the country, that, if no tradition existed for its identity, the site of it could hardly be mistaken.

#### STATE OF CULTIVATION.

We left Napolose one hour after midnight, that we might reach Jerusalem early the same day. We were, however, much deceived concerning the distance. Our guides represented the journey as a short excursion of five hours: it proved a most fatiguing pilgrimage of eighteen. The road was mountainous, rocky, and full of loose stones; yet the cultivation was everywhere marvellous; it afforded one of the most striking pictures of human industry which it is possible to behold. The limestone rocks and stony valleys of Judæa were entirely covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olive-trees, not a single spot seemed to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, were entirely covered with gardens: all of these were free from weeds, and in the highest state of agricultural perfection. Even the sides of the most barren mountains had been rendered fertile, by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another, whereon soil had been accumulated with astonishing labour. Among the standing crops we noticed millet, cotton, linseed, and tobacco, and occasionally small fields of barley. A sight of this territory can alone convey any adequate idea of its surprising produce: it is truly the Eden of the East, rejoicing in the abundance of its wealth. The effect of this upon the people was strikingly portrayed in every countenance: instead of the depressed and gloomy looks of Djezzar Pacha's desolated plains, health, hilarity, and peace, were visible in the features of the inhabitants. Under a wise and beneficent government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation. Its perennial harvest; the salubrity of its air; its limpid springs; its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains; its hills and vales;—all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be indeed "a field which the Lord hath blessed: God hath given it of

the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine."

#### JERUSALEM.

No sensation of fatigue or heat could counterbalance the eagerness and zeal which animated all our party, in the approach to Jerusalem; every individual pressed forward, hoping first to announce the joyful intelligence of its appearance. We passed some insignificant ruins, either of ancient buildings or of modern villages; but, had they been of more importance, they would have excited little notice at the time, so earnestly bent was every mind towards the main object of interest and curiosity. At length, after about two hours had been passed in this state of anxiety and suspense, ascending a hill towards the south—"Hagiopolis!" exclaimed a Greek in the van of our cavalcade; and, instantly throwing himself from his horse, was seen bareheaded, upon his knees, facing the prospect he surveyed. Suddenly the sight burst upon us all. Who shall describe it? The effect produced was that of total silence throughout the whole company. Many of the party, by an immediate impulse, took off their hats, as if entering a church, without being sensible of so doing. The Greeks and Catholics shed torrents of tears; and, presently beginning to cross themselves, with unfeigned devotion, asked if they might be permitted to take off the covering from their feet, and proceed, barefooted, to the Holy Sepulchre. We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city alone exhibited. Instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis; presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendor. As we drew nearer, our whole attention was engrossed by its noble and interesting appearance. The lofty hills whereby it is surrounded, give to the city itself an appearance of elevation inferior to that which it really possesses.

As we approached the city, the concourse of people became very great, the walls and the road side being covered with spectators. An immense multitude, at the same time, accompanied us on foot; some of whom, welcoming the procession with compliments and caresses, cried

cried out "Bon' Inglesi! Viva l'Inghilterra!" others, cursing and reviling, called us a set of rascally Christian dogs, and filthy infidels. We could never learn wherefore so much curiosity had been excited; unless it were, that of late, owing to the turbulent state of public affairs, the resort of strangers to Jerusalem had become more uncommon; or that they expected another visit from Sir Sidney Smith, who had marched into Jerusalem with colours flying and drums beating, at the head of a party of English sailors. He protected the Christian guardians of the Holy Sepulchre from the tyranny of their Turkish rulers, by hoisting the British standard upon the walls of their monastery.

#### REASONING ON THE SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

We had been to examine the hill which now bears the name of Sion: it is situated upon the south side of Jerusalem, part of it being excluded by the wall of the present city, which passes over the top of the mount. If this be indeed Mount Sion, the prophecy concerning it, that the plough should pass over it, has been fulfilled to the letter; for such labours were actually going on when we arrived. Here the Turks have a mosque, over what they call the Tomb of David. No Christian can gain admittance; and, as we did not choose to loiter among the other legendary sanctities of the mount, having quitted the city by what is called "Sion Gate," we descended into a dingle or trench, called Tophet, or Gehinnon, by Sandys. As we reached the bottom of this narrow dale, sloping towards the valley of Jehoraphat, we observed, upon the sides of the opposite mountain, which appears to be the same called by Sandys, the "Hill of Offence," facing Mount Sion, a number of excavations in the rock, similar to those already described among the ruins of Telmessus, in the gulph of Glaucus; and answering to the account published by Shaw, of the *Crypta* of Laodicea, Jebilee, and Tortosa. We rode towards them; their situation being very little elevated above the bottom of the dingle, upon its southern side. When we arrived, we instantly recognised the sort of sepulchres which had so much interested us in Asia Minor, and, alighting from our horses, found that we should have ample employment in their examination. They were all of the same kind of workman-

ship, exhibiting a series of subterranean chambers, hewn with marvellous art, each containing one, or many, repositories for the dead, like cisterns carved in the rock upon the sides of those chambers. The doors were so low, that, to look into any one of them, it was necessary to stoop, and, in some instances, to creep upon our hands and knees: these doors were also grooved, for the reception of immense stones, once squared and fitted to the grooves, by way of closing the entrances. Of such a nature were, indisputably, the tombs of the sons of Hech, of the kings of Israel, of Lazarus, and of Christ.

Some of them, from their magnificence, and the immense labour necessary to form the numerous repositories they contain, might lay claim to regal honours; and there is one which appears to have been constructed for the purpose of inhuming a single individual. The Karaen Jews, of all others the most tenacious in adhering to the customs of their ancestors, have, from time immemorial, been in the practice of bringing their dead to this place for interment; although this fact was not wanted to prove it an ancient Jewish cemetery. The sepulchres themselves, according to the ancient practice, are stationed in the midst of gardens. From all these circumstances, are we not authorized to seek here for the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, who, as a pious Jew, necessarily had his burying-place in the cemetery of his countrymen, among the graves of his forefathers? The Jews were remarkable for their rigid adherence to this custom: they adorned their burial-places with trees and gardens; and the tomb of this Jew is accordingly described as being in a garden; and it was "in the place where our Saviour was crucified." Of what nature was that place of crucifixion? It is very worthy of observation, that every one of the evangelists, (and among these, "he that saw it, and bare record," affirm, that it was "the place of a scull;" that is to say, a public cemetery, "called in the Hebrew, Golgotha;" without the city, and very near to one of its gates. St. Luke calls it Calvary, which has the same signification.

Upon all the sepulchres at the base of this mount, which, "as the place of a scull," we have the authority of the gospel for calling either *Calvary* or *Golgotha*, whether the place of crucifixion or not, there are inscriptions, in Hebrew and in Greek. The Hebrew inscriptions are



are the most effaced: of these it is difficult to make any tolerable copy. Besides the injuries they have sustained by time, they have been covered by some carbonaceous substance, either bituminous or tumid, which rendered the task of transcribing them yet more arduous. The Greek inscriptions are brief and legible, consisting of immense letters deeply carved in the face of the rock, either over the door, or by the side, of the sepulchres. Upon the first we observed these characters:

+ T H C A T I A C  
C I W N  
OF THE HOLY  
SION.

There were others with similar Greek inscriptions, and one which particularly attracted our notice, from its extraordinary coincidence with all the circumstances attaching to the history of our Saviour's tomb. The large stone that once closed its mouth had been, perhaps for ages, rolled away. Stooping down to look into it, we observed, within, a fair sepulchre, containing a repository, upon one side only, for a single body; whereas, in most of the others, there were two, and in many of them more than two. It is placed exactly opposite to that which is now called Mount Sion. As we viewed this sepulchre, and read upon the spot the description given of Mary Magdalene and the disciples coming in the morning, it was impossible to divest our minds of the probability that here might have been the identical tomb of Jesus Christ; and that up the steep which led to it, after descending from the gate of the city, the disciples strove together, when "John did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre." They are individually described as stooping down to look into it; they express their doubts as to the possibility of removing so huge a stone, that when once fixed and sealed, it might have baffled every human effort. But upon this, as upon the others already mentioned, instead of a Hebrew or a Ptolemian inscription, there were the same Greek characters, destitute only of the Greek cross prefixed in the former instances. The inscription stood thus.

T H C A T I A C  
C I W N

the letters being very large, and deeply carved in the rugged surface of the rock.

#### MOSQUE OF OMAR.

When we regained the city, we waited

upon the governor, to thank him for the civilities we had received. Upon this occasion we used all the interest we had with him, by means of Dj zzar Pacha's own interpreter, to obtain admission into the mosque of the temple of Solomon, or mosque erected upon the site of that temple, by the Caliph Omar, in the seventh century. He entreated us not to urge the request, saying, his own life would certainly be required as the price of our admission: we were therefore compelled to rest satisfied with the interesting view it afforded from his windows, which regarded the area of the temple. The sight was so grand, that we did not hesitate in pronouncing it the most magnificent piece of architecture in the Turkish empire; and, considered externally, far superior to the mosque of Saint Sophia in Constantinople. By the sides of the spacious area in which it stands, are certain vaulted remains: these plainly denote the masonry of the antients; and evidence may be adduced to prove, that they belonged to the foundations of Solomon's temple. We observed also, that reticulated stucco, which is commonly considered as an evidence of Roman work. Phocas believed the whole space surrounding this building to be the ancient area of the temple; and Goltius, in his notes upon the Astronomy of Allerganes, says, the whole foundation of the original edifice remained. As to the mosque itself, there is no building at Jerusalem that can be compared with it, either in beauty or riches. The lofty Saracenic pomp so nobly displayed in the style of the building; its numerous arcades; its capacious dome, with all the stately decorations of the place; its extensive area, paved and variegated with the choicest marbles; the extreme neatness observed in every avenue towards it; and, lastly, the sumptuous costume observable in the dresses of all the Eastern devotees, passing to and from the sanctuary, make it altogether one of the finest sights the Mahometans have to boast.

#### POLITICS IN JERUSALEM.

The approaching downfall of the Turkish empire, is an event which of course every reflecting mind must contemplate with eager anticipation; and every means conducive to this end is hailed as an instrument in the hand of God. Whether the armies of France, or the fleets of England, occasion signs of its approximation, the universal church

of Syria, howsoever distributed and divided by sects,—Armenians, Georgians, Greeks, Abyssinians, Copts, Nestorians, Catholics, Syrians, Druses, Maronites, together with all distinctions of Jewish worshippers, Samaritans, Karaites, Rabbins,—are ready to bestow upon them their praises and their blessings. Thus, if a Frenchman arrive in Jerusalem, as in the recent instance of De Châteaubriand, they talk to him of the victories of Buonaparté, and the prowess of Frenchmen in the Holy Land, as if they were preaching for a new crusade. If an Englishman, they lavish commendations and benedictions upon the heroes of the British navy; dwelling with enthusiasm upon the exploits of Nelson at Aboukir; upon those of Sir Sidney Smith at Acre; and upon the glorious fate of the lamented Abercrombie.

#### THE DEAD SEA.

The Dead Sea below, upon our left, appeared so near to us, that we thought we could have rode thither in a very short space of time. Still nearer stood a mountain upon its western shore, resembling, in its form, the cone of Vesuvius, near Naples, and having also a crater upon its top, which was plainly discernible. The distance, however, is much greater than it appears to be; the magnitude of the objects beheld in this fine prospect, causing them to appear less remote than they really are. The atmosphere was remarkably clear and serene; but we saw none of those clouds of smoke, which, by some writers, are said to exhale from the surface of Lake Asphaltites, nor from any neighbouring mountain. Every thing about it was, in the highest degree, grand and awful. Its desolate, although majestic, features, are well suited to the tales related concerning it by the inhabitants of the country, who all speak of it with terror, seeming to shrink from the narrative of its deceitful allurements and deadly influence. "Beautiful fruit," say they, "grows upon its shores, which is no sooner touched, than it becomes dust and bitter ashes." In addition to its physical horrors, the region around is said to be more perilous, owing to the ferocious tribes wandering upon the shores of the lake, than any other part of the Holy Land. A passion for the marvellous has thus affixed, for ages, false characteristics to the sublimest associations of natural scenery in the whole world; for, although it be now known that the waters of this lake, instead

of proving destructive of animal life, swarm with myriads of fishes; that, instead of falling victims to its exhalations, certain birds make it their peculiar resort; that shells abound upon its shores; that the pretended "fruit, containing ashes," is as natural and as admirable a production of nature, as the rest of the vegetable kingdom; that bodies sink or float in it, according to the proportion of their gravity to the gravity of the water; that its vapours are not more insalubrious than those of any other lake; that innumerable Arabs people the neighbouring district; notwithstanding all these facts are now well established, even the latest authors by whom it is mentioned, and one among the number, from whose writings some of these truths have been derived, continue to fill their descriptions with imaginary horrors and ideal phantoms, which, though less substantial than the "black perpendicular rocks" around it, "cast their lengthened shadows over the waters of the Dead Sea." The antiquities, as it is observed by the traveller now alluded to, were much better acquainted with it than are the moderns: and, it may be added, the time is near at hand, when it will be more philosophically examined. The present age is not that in which countries so situated, can long continue unexplored. The thirst of knowledge, and the love of travel, have attained to such a pitch, that every portion of the globe will be ransacked for their gratification. Indeed, one of the advantages derived from the present perturbed state of nations, is that of directing the observation of enlightened travellers to regions they probably would not otherwise have noticed.

#### BETHLEHEM.

Bethlehem, written Bethlechem by Reland, is six miles from Jerusalem. This distance, allowed by almost all authors, exactly corresponds with the usual computed measure, by time, of two hours.

The well of Bethlehem still retains its pristine renown; and many an expatriated Bethlehemite has made it the theme of his longing and regret. As there is no other well corresponding in its situation with the description given by the sacred historian and by Josephus,—and the text of Scripture so decidedly marks its locality, at the farthest extremity of Bethlehem, (with reference to Jerusalem,) that is to say, near the gate of the town on the eastern side,—this may have



have been David's well. It is well known to travellers who have seen the wells of Greece and of the Holy Land, that there exists no monument of antient times more permanent than even an artificial well; that vases of *terra cotta*, of the highest antiquity, have been found in cleansing the wells of Athens: and if they be natural sources, springing from cavities in the limestone rocks of a country where a well is the most important possession of the people, (in which number this well of Bethlehem may be classed,) there seems no reason to doubt the possibility of its existence in the remote ages whereto it is now referred.

The tradition respecting the cave of the nativity, seems so well authenticated, as hardly to admit of dispute. Having been held in veneration from a very early period, the oratory established there by the first Christians, attracted the notice and indignation of the heathens so early as the time of Adrian, who ordered it to be demolished, and the place to be set apart for the rites of Adonis. The situation of the town upon the narrow ridge of a long and lofty hill, surrounded on all sides by valleys, is particularly described by the Abbot of Iona, from the account given to him by Arculfus: and for a description of the interior of the monastery, the reader may be referred to the very recent description given by Mons. De Châteaubriand.\* He considers the church as of high antiquity; being unmindful of the entire destruction of the convent by the Moslems, towards the end of the thirteenth century. We felt very little disappointment in not seeing it. The degrading superstitions maintained by all the Monkish establishments in the Holy Land, excite pain and disgust. The Turks use the monastery, when they travel this way, as they would a common caravan-serai; making the church, or any other part of the building that suits their convenience, both a dormitory and a tavern, while they remain. Neither is the sanctuary more polluted by the presence of these Moslems, than by a set of men whose grovelling understandings have sunk so low as to vilify the sacred name of Christianity by the grossest outrages upon human intellect. In the pavement of the church, a hole, formerly used to carry off water, is exhibited as the place where the star fell, and sunk into the earth, after conducting the Magi to the

cave of the nativity. A list of fifty other things of this nature might be added, if either the patience of the author, or of the reader, were equal to the detail: and, if to these were added the inscriptions and observations contained in the bulky volumes of Quaresmius, upon this subject alone, the "Guide to Bethlehem," as a work, concentrating the quintessence of mental darkness, would leave us lost in wonder that such a place was once enlightened by the precepts of a scholar whom Erasmus so eloquently eulogized.

#### TEREBINTHINE VALE.

After three miles of as hard a journey, over hills and rocks, as any we had experienced, we entered the famous Terebinthine Vale, renowned, during nineteen centuries, as the field of the victory gained by the youngest of the sons of Jesse over the uncircumcised champion of the Philistines, who had "defied the armies of the living God." The *admonitio locorum* cannot be more forcibly excited, than by the words of Scripture: "And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched by the Valley of Elah, and set the battle in array against the Philistines. And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side: and there was a valley between them." Nothing has ever occurred to alter the appearance of the country: as it was then, so it is now. The very brook whence David "chose him five smooth stones" has been noticed by many a thirsty pilgrim, journeying from Jaffa to Jerusalem; all of whom must pass it in their way.

#### JAFFA.

Jaffa appeared to be almost in as forlorn a state, from the plague, as Rama; the air itself was still infected with the smell of unburied bodies. We went to the house of the English Consul, whose grey hairs had not exempted him from French extortion. He had just ventured to hoist again the British flag upon the roof of his dwelling; and, he told us, with tears in his eyes, that it was the only proof of welcome he could offer to us, as the French officers, under Buonaparte, had stripped him of every thing he possessed. However, in the midst of all his complaints against the French, not a single syllable ever escaped his lips respecting the enormities supposed to be committed, by means of Buonaparte.

\* See our last Supplement.

parte's orders or connivance, in the town and neighbourhood of Jaffa.\* As there are so many living witnesses to attest the truth of this representation, and the character of no ordinary individual is so much implicated in its result, the utmost attention will be here paid to every particular likely to illustrate the fact; and, for this especial reason, *because that individual is our enemy*. At the time we were in Jaffa, so soon after the supposed transactions are said to have occurred, the indignation of our Consul, and of the inhabitants in general, against the French, was of so deep a nature, that there is nothing they would not have said, to vilify Buonaparte, or his officers; but this accusation they never even hinted.

\* These falsehoods were first circulated through the pamphlet of a British agent at Constantinople, and then copied into Books of Travels by the printers and editors to make their works sell, and humour the popular prejudices against Buonaparte; all which were encouraged by the British administration of the day. Vide Asperne, Raworth, Skinner, Morier, Wilson, and Wittman.—EDITOR.

## PETRALOGY.

A TREATISE ON ROCKS,  
BY J. PINKERTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

[In a country abounding in Mineral Wealth, the science of Mineralogy has scarcely yet been naturalized among us. There are in no country so many practical miners, with so few speculative mineralogists. We, therefore, have perused this original work of Mr. Pinkerton with great satisfaction, and conceive it will vindicate the honor of England among foreigners in this branch of science. The Author has already acquired respect in the republic of letters for his various works on Antiquities, History, Geography, and different subjects of Belles Lettres, and in our opinion, to use his own phraseology, he has acquired fresh renown in the domain of Mineralogy. He has rescued the subject from the pedantry and technological barbarism in which it has been involved by Werner and the Germans; and, through the medium of his work, the varieties of minerals may now be studied with as much satisfaction as the general history of animated nature by Buffon. We shall only add, that, as our extracts have been made chiefly with a view to explain his classifications, we have pass-

ed over many interesting details relative to particular minerals.]

### THE AUTHOR'S NEW SYSTEM.

IN an attempt to establish a new nomenclature of arrangement, the first requisite is, that it be conformable to the simplicity and harmony of nature; and that it be free from affectation, as even the novelty itself is apt to displease. For this purpose it is necessary to revert to first principles, and if possible to establish the edifice upon foundations universally admitted. Natural history has been well and popularly divided into three Kingdoms, the Animal, the Vegetable, and the Mineral. In the two former the kingdom consists of living subjects, who of course may be well considered as divided into Classes, Orders, Genera, and Species; but in the Mineral Kingdom the territory alone constitutes the subject of discussion. It must therefore be received as a fundamental truth or axiom, that the mineral kingdom, being wholly inert, cannot admit distinction which belong to vital energy; and that an identity of appellations cannot therefore be allowed, either in a grammatical or philosophical view. But the very term Mineral Kingdom may of itself lead to a new and more proper nomenclature: for, as the kingdom may be regarded as either vivified with animal and vegetable life, or as an inert tract of country, with certain geographical, chorographical, and topographical divisions; so the latter point of view can alone apply to mineralogy, while the former belongs to zoology and botany.

This simple induction will, it is hoped, lead of itself to easy and natural, though new, denominations. For what is more usual than the division of a kingdom into provinces, districts, domains, &c. while, as it would not only be pedantic, but inadequate to the subject, to carry this species of metaphor too far, some lesser divisions must be borrowed from the nature of the objects, as they present themselves to the observer.

### HIS GRAND PROVINCES.

I would propose, therefore, in the present advanced state of the science, that the MINERAL KINGDOM be considered as divided into three provinces: 1. PETRALOGY, or the knowledge of rocks, or stones which occur in large masses. 2. LITHOLOGY, the knowledge of gems and small stones. 3. METALLOGY, or the knowledge of metals. Each of these branches is even at present so important, and offers such numerous topics of dis-

sition



tion and research, that in the course of no long period a professor of each will appear in universities; and each might occupy the sole pursuit of an author who is zealous to make discoveries, or to compose complete and classical works. One of the chief causes of the slow progress of the science is, that it is too wide for one mind; and as zoology has been divided into ornithology, ichthyology, entomology, &c. so mineralogy, to be duly studied, should have grand subdivisions.

#### HIS DOMAINS.

These provinces may again be viewed as divided into DOMAINS, corresponding with the Orders of some writers and the Genera of others, as the Provinces supply what are called Classes. This term DOMAIN is preferred to District, &c. as it not only implies a subdivision of a province, but, in another acceptation, a ruling or preponderating power, strictly applicable in mineralogy, where it is often the preponderance, and not the universality, which imparts the denomination. Thus in the siliceous, calcareous, and other domains, it is only understood that the denominating portion preponderates, as few or no rocks are pure, and unmingled with other substances.

Petralogy, a province of mineralogy, may therefore be regarded as divided into Twelve Domains; of which the first six, being distinguished by the substances themselves, may be called SUBSTANTIAL: while the remaining six, being distinguished by circumstances or accidents of various kinds, may be called CIRCUMSTANTIAL, or ACCIDENTAL; but this last division is of little moment.

The first six domains of Petralogy comprise, 1. The Siderous Rocks, or those in which iron predominates, not in the comparative quantity when analysed, but in the quality and essential difference which it imparts. 2. The Siliceous, denominated as usual from the quantity of *Silex*. 3. The Argillaceous. 4. The Magnesian: these two are again denominated from predominance. 5. The Calcareous. 6. The Carbonaceous.

The remaining six domains, derived from circumstances or accidents, are, 7. The Composite, or Aggregated Rocks, as calcareous spar with schorl, quartz, and garnets, felspar and siderite or hornblende, &c. This domain has often been confounded with the granites, however alien from that description. 8. The Diatomaceous, or rocks in which the substances are so completely mingled, that it is difficult, even upon an analysis, to

pronounce which preponderates. 9. The Anomalous, or those which contradict the common order of nature, and present unexpected and unusual combinations. Some of these domains, though they afford few objects at present, may, in the progress of the science, be greatly enriched and enlarged; and the utility of such divisions will be more perceptible as the study advances towards perfection, the greatest obscurity at present arising from the want of necessary subdivisions.

The remaining three domains are generally admitted in geological works, namely, 10. The Transilient Rocks, an interesting series, in which one substance gradually passes into another, as granite into porphyry, trap into wacken, and the like. 11. The Decomposed Rocks, which gradually decay into sand, clay, or productive soil. 12. The Volcanic, which require no other description.

#### HIS MODES.

Having thus established the Domains, or Great Divisions, of Petralogy, the smaller distinctions, can be derived only from the objects, themselves, as we now arrive at what are by most mineralogic authors denominated *Species*, though in their arbitrary and unnatural systems, as Dr. Townson has observed, the Genera and Species are often confounded. "Thus in the improved edition of Linnæus, the characters which constitute the *Species* in gypsum form *Genera* in the carbonate of lime; for the pulverulent, fibrous, spathous, and compact kinds of gypsum form but so many *Species*, whilst the pulverulent, fibrous, spathous, and compact kinds of carbonate of lime form so many different *Genera*." Now these very appearances, which constitute the arbitrary Species and Genera of former authors, what would they be, in the eyes of a philosopher or grammarian, except different *modifications* or *modalities*, of the same substance, and which by a shorter term may be denominated Modes? Hence the term MODE, which is universally applicable and unobjectionable, to distinguish such objects, in mineralogy, is here admitted instead of Species.

To put the propriety of this new appellation to the test, examples may be produced of what are called Species by the most celebrated mineralogic writers. Wallerius, among the species of garnet, first mentions that of an undetermined figure, composed of granular particles; and his next species is of an undetermined figure, but laminar. What are these

these but different modifications, or modes, of the same stone? His ripe asbestos, consisting of fibres which may be separated, forms one species; while that of which the fibres cannot be separated constitutes another. What are these but different modifications of the same substance? In the last edition of Linnæus by Gmelin the term *modes* (*modi*) has been applied to various appearances of petrification: but what are sometimes called Genera, and sometimes Species (as already observed from Dr. Townson), are, in strict language, mere modifications of matter. If we pass to one of the most exact of the French mineralogists, we shall find the sapphire arranged as the tenth species of the siliceous, and the topaz as the eleventh; while in fact they merely differ in colour. In the magnesian division, what are bole, fullers' earth, &c. but different modifications of the same mixtures? Mr. Kirwan presents no exact arrangement, but uses Classes, Families, and Branches, in such a manner as greatly to perplex the reader: but all his species and families are mere modifications, and the simple division into modes would convey a far clearer idea.

The term Mode is therefore here adopted instead of what are called Genera by some writers, and Species by others; this uncertainty, of itself having demonstrated that there are neither Genera nor Species in mineralogy.

But as it is now universally allowed by all mineralogists, however different their systems, that the whole science rests upon chemistry alone, and that no certainty can be found except by chemical analysis, the word Mode, as finally admitted into the present system, must be chiefly understood to refer to the CHEMICAL MODE OF COMBINATION, upon which the nature of the substances, as is now allowed by the greatest chemists, is yet more dependent, than even upon the ingredients combined. It is the MODE OF COMBINATION which distinguishes a diamond from carbon, and a sapphire from argil combined with a little iron: the essence of a mineral consisting not only in the constituent earths, but in the peculiar way in which the mixture is *modified*; and this modal influence also prevails in many artificial mixtures and compounds. In short, the pretended species of former authors are merely different MODES OF COMBINATION.

#### HIS STRUCTURES.

This, the most important part of the

arrangement, being thus borrowed from chemistry, which, like a guardian angel, should always hover round and direct the labours of mineralogy; the other subdivisions only require a characteristic clearness to assist the memory (the chief object in any system of natural history), and an appropriation to the subject, so as to satisfy the judgment and imagination. From the earliest productions of Linnæus to the present time, the word STRUCTURE has been applied, with classical propriety, to denote a most striking and characteristic distinction between mineral substances, whether on a great or on a small scale. Linnæus has observed that there are only three great roads which can conduct the curious traveller through the mineral kingdom; that of Physics, or Natural Philosophy, which treats of the obscure generation of stones; that of Natural History, which examines their evident structures; and that of Chemistry, which considers their analyses. A term thus strictly appropriated, and, as it were, consecrated to the science, has therefore been selected for the next characteristic subdivision.

#### HIS ASPECTS.

But as Werner and his disciples not only admit the various earths as so many Genera; and their Modes, or the modifications of the mixtures, and even colours, as so many species; but also what are, with great penny and uncouthness, of language, styled *Sub-species*, with still smaller divisions of *Varieties* and *Sub-varieties*; so there remains a necessity for more minute discriminations in this new arrangement. In his excellent and elaborate system of chemistry Dr. Thomson seems to have hit upon the just and natural term, when he uses the word ASPECT as a chief characteristic. "The particular characters, says he, are the following: 1. Aspect of the surface; 2. Aspect of the fracture; 3. Aspect of the distinct concretions; 4. General aspect, &c." As therefore the most important object in the study of minerals is to distinguish them by their external characters, and especially by those apparent to the eye, the aspect becomes of such radical importance that it may with the greatest propriety be admitted into the distinctive nomenclature. The verb *aspecto* signifies to view with great attention or earnestness, and affords a hint to the student that these subdivisions called aspects require strict attention and discrimination.

Thus while the mode chiefly expresses the



the difference of chemical composition, &c. and the Structure the grand characteristic, the Aspect refers to more minute features.

#### HIS VARIETIES.

The term *variety* is unobjectionable, as it is equally applicable to objects of animated or inert matter; and *diversity* may be used to imply a still greater difference than the *variety* presents. A very faint shade of difference might, if necessary, be called a *lineament*.

#### THE WERNERIAN THEORY.

From the sketch imparted by Daubuisson to Brochant, and from Mr. Jameson's Geognosy, we are enabled to form an idea of Mr. Werner's system concerning the formation of such parts of this planet, as we can hope to observe, little exceeding the three thousandth part of its semi-diameter. I warmly subscribe to the sentiments of admiration which are paid to Mr. Werner's superior talents in many branches of mineralogy, a science infinitely indebted to his industry and sagacity. I also acknowledge the truth of the apophthegm, *Natura fecit omnes judices; paucos artifices*. But I regret, with his most enlightened admirers, that the scene of his enquiry has been too confined; and that his view of the mountains of Saxony has not been extended over the globe. After forty years of sedulous observation among the Alps, Saussure, who began his labours with a view of forming a system, declares that his hopes were frustrated; and that he had met with such unaccountable confusion that he could not venture to propose a theory. Yet Saussure, to practical observations on a far superior scene, added the advantages of learning, and mathematical and meteorological science, which Mr. Werner unhappily wants, and which would have corrected and greatly improved his speculations.

#### Domain I.—Siderous.

##### SIDEGEA, SIDEROUS EARTH.

The name *sidegea*, as not unusual in compounded words, is abbreviated from two Greek terms, signifying iron and earth. The reasons for the introduction of this grand division, adopted in substance by the most eminent geologists, have already been given. Iron acts so important and radical a part in the constitution of our planet, that it deserves to be viewed under various aspects, not only as a metal, but as an earth, strongly

impregnating most of the others, and often exerting a predominating influence. For as, since the recent discoveries, many earths have been known to assume the form of metals, so there can be no impropriety in considering this universal metal under the form of an earth.

When a substance contains more than twenty-five parts in the hundred, or, in other words, one quarter, of iron, it may be worked as a metallic ore, and arranged under that denomination. But in a smaller quantity it will fall under the present division, especially when intimately combined with the other earths. It was by metallurgists considered as a calx, or latterly called an oxyd. Mr. Kirwan, who has rightly added calces of iron to his description of the earths, says, that they are formed of that metal, combined with different proportions of pure air, and frequently of water also and fixed air.

"One hundred parts metallic iron are capable of taking up 66 or 70 of pure air. When 100 parts iron contain but 40 of this air, the compound is still magnetic. His table of the fusibility of the simple earths presents some curious experiments on the mixture of calcined iron and rust of iron, with other substance, which show the power of this metal. Even when it only amounts to four parts in the hundred, it sensibly influences the compound.

Sidegea, or siderous earth, is so generally diffused, that almost every mineral substance derives its colour from it, from a pale blue to the deepest red. Animal substances contain it; and it exists in the vegetable kingdom, even in plants apparently supported merely by air and water. It would appear that even the atmosphere abounds with atoms of iron, whence perhaps the meteoric stones.

#### Domain II.—Siliceous.

##### SILEX, SILICA, OR SILICEOUS EARTH.

This earth derives its name from the *silex*, or flint, in which it abounds. Some also denominate it quartzose earth, because it is perhaps more abundant in the stone called quartz, which, when transparent and crystallized, is styled rock crystal. It so frequently occurs in the form of sand, which covers a great part of the globe, either alone or mixed with clay, that late chemists infer that such sand arises not only from the decomposition of rocks, but is often a disturbed or hasty crystallization of silica. This is further confirmed by the circumstance that

that many primitive mountains consist of granular quartz, of an arenaceous appearance, like agglutinated sand.

The stones now called siliceous, were formerly denominated vetrifiable; because, with an alkali, they may be melted into glass; and the finest Venetian glass was fabricated from quartz, by the Italians called *torso*. Silica, like the other simple earths, is a fine white powder; but the particles have a harsh feel, like minute sand. Alone it is scarcely fusible; but, when newly precipitated, is soluble in 1000 parts of water.

Joined with iron, argil, and magnesia, it constitutes the primitive and most important rocks, rising to the regions of perpetual snow, and thus supplying unfailing aliment to the great rivers that fertilise the earth. When considered in these mountains, in sand, and in clay, it may be pronounced the most abundant of all the earths; and, if iron form the nucleus, the shell of this planet may be said to consist chiefly of silex. It is suspected that it is coeval and intimately connected with iron; as the aerolites or meteoric stones, and the large masses of native iron, discovered in Siberia and South America, contain abundance of silex mixed with some magnesia.

Siliceous substances generally strike fire with steel; and flint or quartz yields a peculiar odour, supposed by some to arise from a subtle substance which chemistry has not been able to discover. A strong phosphorescence is also produced by collision, so that, during Alpine hurricanes, the torrents, rolling large fragments of rock, present a singular scene of corruscation.

### Domain III.—Argillaceous.

#### ARGIL.

This earth is obtained in the state of greatest purity from alum, which is a mixture of argil and sulphuric acid. If it contained oxyd of iron, as is frequently the case, it emits a particular smell, when breathed upon, well known by the name of an earthy smell.

With heat it loses its water, and diminishes in bulk; but a very violent heat converts it into a white amel. When combined with lime, it easily enters into fusion.

Argil, also called Alumina by recent chemists, is of great utility, as forming the basis of many manufactures, such as brick, porcelain, and earthenware. It constitutes 93 parts in the 100 of corindon; under which division are now classed the most perfect of the precious stones, af-

ter the diamond, such as the sapphire, ruby, and oriental topaz. It is hence not only one of the most noble, but one of the most useful of the earths; loam or fertile soil being a mixture of about 30 parts argil with 70 of fine sand; while mould chiefly consists of animal and vegetable remains.

In the primitive rocks argil is an important feature, forming about a fifth part of felspar, and a third of mica. The most ancient slates abound in argil. It is often so homogeneous that it cannot be regarded as the waste of former mountains, but a pure deposit of primeval waters. In the primitive schists however there is still a great preponderance of sand; and the glossy appearance may sometimes proceed from decomposed mica.

The argillaceous rocks are mostly of a simple and uniform appearance, and do not admit the numerous modifications of some other substances. This earth is chiefly eminent in gemmology, where it constitutes some of the most beautiful varieties. The argillaceous rocks are never crystallised, and present but small splendour in their appearance; hence they are very seldom used in the ornamental arts, and are chiefly important in a geological point of view, where they often rank among the most important primitive substances. Yet even in this light they have not been treated with the attention and minute investigation which have been bestowed upon the Siliceous and Calcareous Divisions.

The essential part of the argillaceous rocks being alum, it seems the most natural progress to begin with those substances which chiefly supply commerce with that earth.

### Domain IV.—Talcous.

#### MAGNESIA.

This earth seems first to have been discovered, or at least sold as a remedy, by an ecclesiastic at Rome about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Under the name of *magnesia alba*, it was proposed as a universal medicine, while it could do little more than supply the place of the Lemnian earth, and other boles. As Theophrastus, however, in describing the stone called *magnetis*, says it may be turned on a lathe, and has a silvery appearance, Dr. Kidd agrees with Hill, that the ancient Greeks called the load-stone *heraclea*, but the more modern *magnetis*: and Pliny's description of the stone brought from Magnesia,



in Asia, seems to belong to a talcous substance.

Hoffman, Black, and Bergman, contributed to establish the difference between magnesia and lime. It seems originally to have been prepared from nitre; but sea-water contains the sulphate of magnesia, a salt composed of this earth and sulphuric acid; and which is also found in many springs, particularly at Epsom, whence it was called Epsom salt.

Magnesian or talcous earth is infusible in the strongest heat. It does not form phosphorets, like the three other alkaline earths, lime, barytes, and strontia.

In talc it sometimes amounts to one half of the composition; but in the other substances, such as steatites and serpentines, it is only from twenty to forty; but its power is so great as sensibly to alter the appearance and qualities of the stone. The chrysolite or peridot of the French, containing about one half magnesia, belongs to this division; and is remarkable as the only magnesian gem.

The deserts of Siberia are annually covered with efflorescences of Epsom salt, so as in the short summer to resemble snow. The talcous rocks in general present a discriminating character in their unctuous appearance; they have however, in some cases, been confounded with the argillaceous, which occasionally assume the softness and silky lustre of the magnesian. The presence of magnesia is often indicated by a green colour.

#### Domain V.—Calcareous.

##### CALCAREOUS EARTH.

This important substance is produced by burning limestone, marble, or chalk; and is commonly known by the name of lime. The purest is yielded by calcareous spar, or some white marbles.

Its taste is hot and acrid; and it is incapable of fusion, even by the burning-glass. It may however be fused when joined with silex or clay.

Limestone is composed of lime and carbonic acid. Heat separates the latter, and the lime is left pure. This acid is a species of gas, formerly called fixed air, and discovered by Dr. Black in 1756; an event which formed a revolution in the history of chemistry. Atmospheric air is composed of about seventy-four parts in the hundred of nitrogen, and twenty-six of oxygen: but the latter varies; and there is commonly one in the hundred of

carbonic acid gas. Hence lime exposed to the air absorbs the carbonic acid, and may again become a carbonate, or limestone.

In architecture, mortar is composed of quick lime and sand; and when mixed with a proportion of iron, or manganese, it becomes extremely hard, even under water.

When combined with sulphuric acid, the calcareous earth forms gypsum, or selenite, which being burnt produces what is called plaister of Paris. The alabaster of the moderns commonly belongs to the same combination; while that of the ancients is often a stalagmite, or secretion of common limestone. With fluoric acid, calcareous earth becomes fluor or fluuate of lime.

The greater proportion of limestone is produced by the decomposition of marine shells; but the more ancient, which is crystallised, and presents no trace of such remains, is called primitive, being supposed as ancient as any of the rocks. It is in general easily distinguished from the other substances by the nitrous acid, formerly called aqua-fortis, which excites effervescence; but when mixed with magnesia, or much silex, this effect is slowly procured. Nor do gypsum nor fluor effervesce.

To these observations, which are chiefly extracted from Kirwan, Thomson, and Patrin, it may be added that, in 1808, Mr. Davy reduced lime to a metal, which had the colour and lustre of silver, and burnt with an intense white light into quick lime.

In some works of mineralogy the first three Modes of this Domain, and even the three succeeding, have been arranged as mere *sub-species*, or varieties of limestone. Strict chemical analysis may probably discover a different proportion of ingredients, as for examples, more water of crystallisation in marble, and more or less silex or argil; and there is at any rate a difference in the mode of combination. But the chief use of any system being to assist the memory, even the strict precision of terms becomes mere pedantry, if it be not subservient to this main object. Too large masses of colour, or too small, will render the picture equally inelegant and obscure.

#### Domain VI.—Carbonaceous.

##### CARBON.

The name Carbon is not the most happy, as it arises from charcoal, an artificial substance, while carbon is now well known

known to be an original element, which exists in the purest state in the diamond, and enters into the composition of siderite, perhaps the most ancient of all the rocks. Charcoal is now regarded as a mixture of carbon and hydrogen. By combustion it is converted into carbonic acid gas, formerly called fixed air, or aerial acid; whence some writers have used the epithet aerated lime, barytes, &c. for what are now called carbonates of lime, barytes, and the like. The discovery of this new air by Dr. Black, led to wonderful improvements and a total renovation of chemistry, which in its present form has been called pneumatic, from its spiritual foundations. It is indeed remarkable, that the profoundest study, and the most patient experiments, should conduct us from matter to spirit; and thence by a natural gradation of thought, to that ineffable spirit, the Creator of the universe.

The carbonic acid gas, more briefly called carbonic acid, forms a constituent part of the atmosphere, in the proportion of about 1, in the 100, while the remainder consists of about 77 of nitrogen and 23 of oxygen gas. Combined with the earths, it forms carbonates; and that widely extended substance called limestone, which is often primeval, is a carbonate of lime.

Carbon itself not only appears in the purest state in the diamond; but forms the preponderant part, sometimes even 90 in 100 of the substances now under view, and which have therefore been called carbonaceous. They not only enter into the composition of rocks, and some even of the primitive, but form rocks themselves, as coal has been found in masses of 80 or 90 feet in thickness. The trivial name of sea-coal, arising from its importation at London, might therefore well be exchanged for that of rock-coal, as we say rock-salt. Some might, perhaps, prefer the German appellation of *bergarts*, implying substances of whatever kind which enter into the composition of mountains; or the Greek *geostromes*, proposed by Patrin, to denote the strata of the earth. But as the conchitic beds of limestone, sometimes more recent than coal itself, though often in thin strata, universally assume the name of rocks, any refined discrimination would appear unnecessary. It has already been more than once observed that the division of mineralogy into three quite distinct and separate provinces, METALLOGY, LITHOLOGY, and PETROLOGY, would be of the utmost importance

to the progress, illustration, and utility of the science; each of them being amply sufficient for the life and labours of one man; and, in this case, the subjects under view could not be allotted to any other grand division.

#### Domain VII.—Composite.

This division comprehends the rocks which consist of different substances blended together, and for which no distinct denominations have been adopted. Many of them have been classed under vague names, particularly that of granite.

Under the division of Aggregated Rocks, Gmelin, in his edition of Linnaeus, has arranged granite, gneiss, porphyry, amygdalite, bricia, and sandstone; and the reader will be surprised to find what various and discordant objects are united under these vague appellations. Mr. Kirwan has, in like manner, two titles of Aggregated and Derivative Stones; the other rocks being considered under the simple substances.

The latter six great divisions of the rocks, being derived, not from the nature of the substances themselves, but from accidents or circumstances, may be called ACCIDENTIAL, or circumstantial; while the former divisions are SUBSTANTIAL. The chemical Mode therefore, so essential in the substantial ranks, here becomes foreign to the object; and the terms *Structure* and *Aspect*, derived from the self-apparent nature of the stones themselves, would become yet more improper, as by far the greater part of these rocks are even compounded of various domains, united in one mass.

The term DOMAIN has been retained, not in its former acceptation, which may strictly imply the preponderance or predominance of a particular earth or substance; but, in a more general sense, equally applicable to all the twelve divisions; that is, merely a continuation of the metaphoric language of the Mineral Kingdom, Provinces, and Domains. In this sense it is indeed chiefly used in the first six divisions; the other implication, of predominance or preponderance, being of a secondary and subsidiary nature, and only a further recommendation of its propriety.

But the term Mode implying the chemical mode of combination, which is even more essential than the nature and power of the substances combined, as appears from an infinite number of analyses, it cannot be admitted into these new



new divisions, derived from accidental, and not from substantial, differences, as has been just mentioned; and, the inferior terms being equally objectionable, the adoption of a new appellation becomes indispensable. The word *Nome* has been adopted, as short and convenient, and as applied by the Greek writers to the districts of Egypt, the first country where chemistry and mineralogy appear to have been studied. It is therefore not only of classical authority, but has an affinity, so to speak, with the parent country of the science, and thus presents scientific recollections. The author has the greatest aversion to unnecessary neology, the chief use of language being to be understood, and that the thoughts may be accurately perceived, as flowers or fruits in a vase of crystal; but, when a science has assumed a new aspect, like chemistry, or is wholly new, like mineralogy, new words become indispensable to express new ideas.

For the sake of memory, and easy reference, the latter divisions follow the general succession of substances in the former; but this arrangement must not be understood to imply that any substance is predominant, as either may have greater or less importance in different parts of the same rock. After these considerations, the proper arrangement of the Composite Rocks will not be attended with much difficulty.

#### Domain VIII.—*Diamictonic*.

These rocks, in which the substances may be said to be chemically combined, form the most difficult province of the whole science, and might deserve a separate treatise like the *Cryptogumia* of the Botanists. Siderous earth, for example, may be found so intimately and equally combined with the siliceous, that the rock cannot with propriety be arranged under either. The celebrated glazed rock, which Saussure observed near the monastery of St. Bernard, is of this description; and there is a specimen in the author's collection. It has been called an intimate combination of quartz and *roche de corne*.

Most of the Derivative rocks of Kirwan belong to this Domain. The name and idea he is said to have borrowed from Bergmann. The aggregated stones of Kirwan comprehend granite, gneiss, porphyry, amygdalite, sand-stone, and other substances, visibly compounded of various materials; while his derivative

stones he distinguishes from aggregates by this, "that the associated ingredients are not visibly distinct, or at least require microscopes to render them so." He adds, that a derivative stone may be denominated from the *species* (that is, the Mode), which still predominates; but, if it participate equally of both, it may receive its denomination from either. The siderous, siliceous, and argillaceous earths, form the most frequent combinations; while those of calcareous earth and magnesia are far more rare. In his Geological Essays he observes, that stones are either original, as granite, or derivative, as sand-stone; while, in his Mineralogy, he has classed sand-stone, along with granite, among the aggregates.

The appellation and distinction are in fact alike fallacious. That a red sand-stone may be derived from the detritus of a red granite, may be justly admitted; but this affords almost the only example of a real derivative stone. And the intimate combinations of which Mr. Kirwan speaks are so far from being derivative, that they often belong to the most original and primitive substances. But, when Mr. Kirwan published his valuable system in 1794 (and the last edition is merely reprinted), the knowledge of rocks was extremely confined, and regarded only as an appendage to mineralogy, instead of forming a grand and distinct science, a rank to which its dignity and importance authorise it to aspire.

The term *Diamictonic*, derived from the Greek, implies that two or more substances are so thoroughly mingled, or, in the language of chemistry, so intimately combined, that the rocks cannot be arranged under either Domain, either from preponderance or predominance.

#### Domain IX.—*Anomalous*.

Amidst the infinite variety of nature, there are many rocks which, though sometimes composed of not unusual modes, are of so singular a structure, that they deserve to be ranked in a separate domain; more especially as the greater part are of distinguished dignity and beauty. Others are entitled to this distinction from their gemmose nature, being inlaid, so to speak, with precious substances; such as opaline felspar, lazulite, chrysolite, and topaz.

Those rocks may also be regarded as anomalous which are of very rare occurrence,



rence, and form, as it were, another class of anomalies from the usual laws and order of nature. Among the latter may be mentioned the hills of rock-salt which occur in Spain and Africa; and the hills of iron, intermixed with quartz, to be found in Sweden and Lapland. The few rocks in which barytes is incorporated, may also be annexed to this domain, with bituminous and sulphuric rocks, which are far from common.

The mineral kingdom, as already mentioned, is here regarded as divided into only three provinces, Petralogy, Lithology, and Metallogy: the class of salts and combustibles being divided between the two former provinces. In fact, the term rock-salt indicates the province of the only salt which can properly and strictly be regarded as a mineral; the others being found in waters, or deposited by them, or appearing as mere efflorescences, or at the most in a gemmose form. And as the important and interesting study of Crystallography, or Chrysallogy, originated from the observation of the salts, they may be considered as belonging to that department of Lithology.

But the combustibles stand in a different predicament, for coal is, in many countries, a very common and abundant substance; is found in vast beds, like many other rocks; and may be said to constitute entire hills, as that of St. Gilles, near Liege. In this new point of view, therefore, coal has been ranked among the rocks; and that division also includes the bituminous substances, which issue from them, or may be found in their recesses; while amber and melinite remain almost alone for the minute investigations of the gemmologist.

In passing to the sulphuric substances, it must be observed, that a most common and general appearance of sulphur, in pyrites, is so interwoven with most of the rocks, that it forms an important feature in petralogy. From the Alpine granites, to the lowest beds of coal, infinite are the rocks which contain pyrites. Henkel has written a large and learned work on pyrites; and a complete investigation of them by the gigantic powers of modern chemistry, might perhaps decide the question so long agitated, whether the rocky shell of this planet have been consolidated and expanded by internal heat, or merely deposited by water. To conceive, however, that the matter of this globe is wholly inert, seems to be contrary to all the other laws

of nature, which abounds with various and prodigious kinds of motion and animation; and appears to be positively contradicted by the vast force and extent of earthquakes, not to mention inferior phenomena.

However this be, pyrites form an important consideration in the knowledge of rocks. Even native sulphur may be said to constitute rocks at Solfaterra, and in Guadaloupe, and at St. Vincent's, not to mention other volcanic territories. It also appears disseminated in some lime-stones, as in Switzerland and Sicily. The fine crystals from Conilla, in Spain, are intermixed with calcareous spar, or a rock of bluish indurated clay; and they contribute to the elegant study of the Gemmologist. The Metallogist has also frequent occasions to describe the sulphurets, or combinations with sulphur, formed by many metals. If any objection should arise to this arrangement, the salts and combustibles may be thrown into appendices; for the theme is too confined to form a distinct province in the mineral kingdom.

From these considerations the rocks of common salt, with the bituminous, sulphuric, and metallic, as those of iron, are ranked among the Anomalous; while those intermixed with pyrites are so trivial; that it is scarcely necessary to distinguish them, even from the common modes of the substantial domains.

#### *Domain X.—Transilient.*

This division includes the rocks which suddenly pass from one to another, so that specimens may sometimes even appear in cabinets; while the transitive rocks commonly occur in a slow and scarcely visible progress; the term implying, in Werner's system, those intermediate between the primitive and secondary. The suddenness of the transition has given rise to the denomination, which implies that the substance has leaped, as it were, from one to another.

These rocks are extremely interesting in the study of Geology; and the learned reader will observe, that this treatise forms a gradual introduction to that sublime science, or rather study; for, even in the German sense of Geognosy, or knowledge of the shell of the earth, it can scarcely ever be supposed to arrive at the perfection of a science.

Great care must be exerted not to confound the rocks which are merely adherent, or composite, with those that really graduate into another. Sagesure,



in speaking of a Russian traveller, says, that he would have boldly asserted that a roasting goose graduates into the spit. Thus some theorists have conceived that lime becomes flint, or flint graduates into lime, from the mere mixture of the particles near the line of their junction. The most proper and undoubted graduations occur only among the kindred rocks; and are generally a mere variation of the mode or structure; as the passage from granite to gneiss, or from granite to granitic porphyry. If the granite be surcharged with siderite, and its particles become very small, it may pass into the real basalt of the ancients; but can never become a basaltin interspersed with chysolite or zeolite; and if the basaltin occur with granite, it must be merely adherent. Keralite may, by imbibing iron from the atmospheric air, or whatever cause, become jasper. Werner has observed, that wacken passes into clay on one hand, and basaltin on the other; which last again passes into basaltin or grüstein. Many other undoubted transitions may be observed; but it will suffice to enumerate some of the most remarkable, leaving the others to time and accurate observation.

#### *Domain XI.—Decomposed.*

The decomposition of rocks forms a striking feature in geology, as a great part of the productive soil, and many of the substances used in important manufactures, may be considered as chiefly derived from this circumstance. Several of the most useful clays are reputed by some to be merely decompositions of felspar; the mixture of sand being a decomposition of quartz. Bergman found the loam near London, to contain only 13 of argil; the remaining 87 being a redish grey sand, as fine as flour. What is called mould, consists chiefly of vegetable and animal remains. The fall of leaves in a forest creates a fine black mould.

In various parts of England, and other countries, the loam is of a red colour, and proceeds in what may be called belts or zones (for strata can only be superimposed on each other) for a great distance, but with various interruptions. This red tinge can scarcely arise from the decomposed felspar of red primeval granite, as some have supposed; for in that case the hardest nodules of the granite would probably still be found, as in the red sand-stone; but may merely proceed from the admixture of red oxyd of iron,

while in other spots the black oxyd may predominate. Argillaceous earth is found in the most primitive substances; and theory can scarcely be expected to determine whether the fertile clay, which forms so prodigious and important a portion of the surface of this globe, and furnishes aliment to animals and vegetables, arises from a decomposition effected, during myriads of ages, by the superincumbent waters; or by a mere deposition from the original mass and constitution of the waters themselves.

On the decomposition of rocks, the observations of a skilful chemist must be particularly exact and interesting, for which reason those of Mr. Kirwan are extracted; more especially as they abound with examples which are essential to the nature of the present work. It may also be prefaced, that the decomposed rocks have never hitherto been treated in any professed work of mineralogy, so that the novelty of the subject calls for every aid of illustration.

The decomposition of rocks is not only a curious subject in itself, but of the greatest importance to the arts, particularly architecture and sculpture. Many noble edifices have soon become disfigured, because the architect did not know the easy decomposition of the materials. Thus at Trianon the pillars are already decayed, because the argillaceous nature of the marble of Campan will not bear exposure in the open air, where it soon exfoliates. At Oxford it has been observed that some of the public buildings are injured, because the builders had not studied the nature of the stone, which requires to be laid in its original position in the quarry, that the first compression may still exist, as otherwise it will imbibes the moisture, and thus split or crumble in frosty weather. Sculptors are singularly anxious that the stone which they use should not be subject to this defect; and their example should be followed by architects, as the duration of their works and reputation depends entirely on this branch of knowledge. It would appear that the ancients, who always mingled the useful with the ornamental, had particularly investigated this subject, even in very early times; for the Egyptians, in their eternal monuments, had already learned to prefer granite and porphyry, the two most durable substances in nature; and which have the additional advantage that they afford no temptation for destruction, because they cannot, like marble, be converted

verted into lime: for some of the noblest monuments of Greece have been used for this purpose by the barbarous Turks; and a temple or statue of Diana has been turned into cement, for the voluptuous apartments of a Haram. It is also conceived by antiquaries, that some of the finest monuments of ancient Rome perished in this manner during the middle ages.

It must not be forgotten that stones apparently hard, are sometimes more subject to decay than those of a softer contexture. The pyramids of Egypt have suffered little degradation, though constructed with a soft calcareous konite. The Roman Pharos, at Dover, remains almost entire, though built with a soft stalactitic tufa, found in abundance on the shores of several rivers; for example, the Tees, in the north of England. The transportation of this stone from a distance, seems to evince that there was some reason for giving it a preference; and as it is coralloid in its structure, it was perhaps justly conceived that it would emit the moisture with the same ease as it was received, and hence be little subject to decomposition. The conjecture, if such, was certainly verified by the event. From this, and numerous other examples, it may be inferred that the ancient architects observed, with a most scrutinizing eye, the nature and the structure of the stone which they employed; an important circumstance which has not met with due consideration among the moderns.

The same considerations are also of the greatest importance in private buildings, where stone is abundant and in general request; and the product of any new quarry should be put to several tests, and severely examined, before it be brought into use. The example of the houses of Malta, mentioned by Mr. Kirwan, is a striking lesson of this kind; and some modern buildings in Scotland are more decayed than the ancient. If iron, clay, or even perhaps

some magnesian mixtures, be much intermingled, the stone is apt to become carious. But the magnesian rocks in general are little subject to decay; and serpentine, resisting moisture by its unctuous nature, forms some of the boldest summits and promontories. It was, perhaps, this consideration which induced the preference of ollite, or pot-stone, in the construction of the Duke of Argyle's noble mansion at Inverary.

#### *Domain XII.—Volcanic.*

The volcanic rocks may be said, with the German mineralogists, to be of the most modern formation, as every new eruption of about one hundred and fifty volcanoes scattered over the face of the globe, must produce new rocks of this description. That there are also volcanoes at the bottom of the sea, we know, from the ejection of new islands in the seas of Greece; and, in the Atlantic near Iceland, and the Azores. It may therefore be considered as a most rational conclusion, that, as the ocean occupies two-thirds of this globe, numerous volcanoes may exist at such depths, that their effects are wholly unperceivable. Dolomieu seems to have demonstrated that the matter, which supplies the prodigious eruptions of volcanoes, must lie at an immense depth beneath the crust of the earth. This position may be argued, 1. from the surprising extent of earthquakes, felt from Lisbon to Scotland, a space of 15 degrees, or about 1000 British miles. 2. From the prodigious quantity of matter ejected in the course of ages; from the comparatively small craters of Etna, for example, whole mountains, nay territories have issued; which, if drawn from a space near the surface, the mountain must long since have sunk into its own abysses. 3. From the nature of the lava, which, in some instances, has burst through the superincumbent masses of granite, itself regarded as the fundamental rock.

[END OF THE THIRTY-THIRD VOLUME.]

GENERAL



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Gray and Co.	277	Holt, J.	372	King, T.	475	Matthew, J.	372
Gray, G.	372	Hooper, G.	475	Kinnear, J.	ib.	Matthews, W.	170
Gray, J.	571	Horton, D.	ib.	Kneller, J.	571	Maurice, D.	571
Greatorox, J.	372	Hoskin, W.	170	Knill, J.	170	Maulin, J.	475
Greaves, P.	170	Hotson, J.	571	Knott & Co.	571	Mavor, J.	68, 170
Green, J.	ib.	Howes, J.	170	Lamb, W.	68	Mavor and Co.	170
Green, W.	475	Howgate and Co.	ib.	Lambert, A. S.	ib.	Meen and Co.	571
Gregory, C. S.	170	Howlett, A.	ib.	Lambert, H.	475	Melling and Co.	68
Greig, C.	571	Howse, J.	475	Lander, J.	ib.	Merryweather,	
Griffin, J.	372	Howson, J.	67	Lane, W.	ib.	T.	170
Griffiths, B.	67	Hudson, J.	170	Lane, J.	ib.	Merryweather &	
Griffiths, J.	170	Hughes, H.	67	Langshaw, J.	ib.	Co.	475
Griffiths, G.	372	Hughes, C.	ib.	Lathy, J.	170	Millard, J.	170
Grob, J. E.	277	Hughes, J.	170	Lawrence, S.	475	Millard, J.	475
Grubb, W.	170	Hughes, J.	571	Lawson, J.	277	Miller, C.	372
Gundry, W.	ib.	Hull and Co.	170	Leach, W.	ib.	Mills, W.	277
Gurry, J.	571	Hulston and Co.	ib.	Leadbeater, H.	571	Milner, T.	170
Gunson, J.	475	Humble, M.	67	Leigh and Co.	372	Mitchell, W.	475
Gyles, R.	170	Humphries, W.	170	Lenham, W.	475	Mole and Co.	68
Hadwen, T.	571	Hunt, H.	67	Leonard, P.	571	Moody, T.	571
Hale, T.	67	Hunt, W.	372	Lessingham, W.		Monk, J.	277
Hall, H.	170	Hurst, I.	571	J.	372	Moorehouse, J.	170
Hamer, W.	67	Hutchinson, J.	475	Levy, E.	68	Morecroft & Co.	68
Hampton & Co.	277	Hyams, N.	571	Lewellyn, W.	475	Morgan, W.	170
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Munkton, W.	277	Powell, C.	475	Sharp, W.	68	Taylor, G.	372
Munn, J.	68	Powell, W.	ib.	Sharpe, C.	572	Teal, C.	278
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Neave, T.	170	Preston, W.	372	Shield, J.	ib.	Thirkell, G.	572
Needham, P. W.	277	Preston, R.	475	Shuker, J.	475	Thomas, D.	68
Nelson, T.	475	Price, J.	68	Shuttleworth, H.	68	Thomas, R. J.	170
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Noel, G.	475	Raymill, W.	571	Slade, W.	170	F. J.	170
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Oram, S.	475	Richards & Co.	475	Smith, J.	170	Townsend, W.	572
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Phillips, R.	475	Sampson, S.	571	Stone, J.	68	Wallace, R.	68
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Piercy, R.	170	Sandwith, H.	475	Stott, R.	170	Ward, J.	170
Pindar, A.	278	Sargeant, R.	170	Stuart, J.	ib.	Ward, W.	476
Pinks, T.	571	Saunders, G.	68	Stuart, B. W.	372	Ward, W.	572
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Plant, W.	ib.	Scott, J.	572	Studd, W.	572	Warren, W.	ib.
Plowman, J.	170	Sea, W.	372, 475	Swaby, J.	ib.	Warren, H.	68
Pope, J.	68	Seales and Co.	475	Swaine and Co.	475	Waters, R.	278
Porter, S.	278	Sedgwick, M.	372	Swan and Co.	ib.	Watford, T.	572
Porter, R.	372	Sellers, D.	170	Sykes, W.	278, 372	Watkins, T.	ib.
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Whetton, W.	372	Williams, W.	170	Wilson, J.	372	Wright, R.	572
Whitaker & Co.	68	Williams, S.	278	Wilson, T.	572	Wright, J.	ib.
Whitbread, T.	170	Williams, W.	572	Winder and Co.	ib.	Wyatt, T.	ib.
Whitcher, J.	278	Williamson, J.	476	Windsor and Co.	476	Wylie, G. A.	476
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Whitehead, A.	170	Wilkinson & Co.	ib.	Woolbert, D. T.	68	Young, A.	68
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Agnew, T.	372	Bazley, A.	ib.	Bradnock, T.	572	Chambers, S.	ib.
Ainsworth & Co.	372, 476	Beale and Co.	ib.	Bradshaw, T.	ib.	Champ, J.	170
Alanby, F.	476	Beavis and Co.	170	Brandon, J.	170	Champion, J.	372
Aldridge, C.	572	Been, E.	68	Brett & Co.	170, 476	Chapman, T.	278
Allen and Co.	ib.	Bell, J.	372	Brewer, H.	170	Chapman, J.	476
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Alston, G.	572	Benjamin, T.	572	Brickwood, J. S.	476	Chatfield & Co.	572
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Andrewes, T.	476	Bennett and Co.	572	Brockbury & Co.	170	Clarke, T.	372
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Andrews, W.	ib.	Benton, W.	170	Brookes, T.	572	Clarke, T.	572
Angell and Co.	372	Benyon, E.	ib.	Brown, P.	68	Clarkson, T.	68, 170
Ansley and Co.	ib.	Berg, A. E.	572	Brown & Co.	68, 170	Clave, T.	572
Argent, W.	476	Berry, W.	278	Brown, J.	170	Clayton, T.	476
Armstrong, F.	372	Bidgend, J.	372	Brown, J.	476	Clemence, M.	372
Armstrong, W.	572	Bidwell, H.	278	Brown and Co.	572	Clifford, J.	572
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Ashmead and Co.	372	Birkett, R.	278	Bruford, F.	170	Cole, M. T.	68
Ashton, R.	170	Birkett, R.	278	Bruncelow, T.	ib.	Cole, W.	476
Asling and Co.	68	Bishop and Co.	170	Buckley, T.	ib.	Colgrave, J.	ib.
Asling, C.	ib.	Bishop, E.	278	Buckridge, J.	572	Collen, W.	572
Atchison, J.	476	Blackbourne and Co.	278	Budd and Co.	ib.	Collier, J. & S.	278
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Bagster, R.	476	Blow, J.	278	Busby and Co.	572	Cook, J.	278
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